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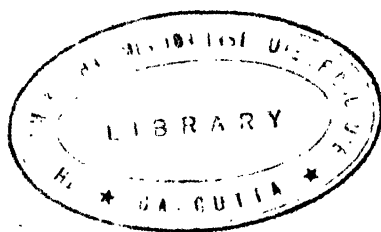
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FRANCE AS IT IS.

FRANCE AS IT IS.

BY

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SPECIALLY WRITTEN FOR ENGLISH READERS

AND

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FRANCE AS IT IS.



CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF FRANCE.

CONTENTS:—The Country : plains, plateaus, and mountains.—Agriculture.—The French People : statistics of the population, character of the race.—Territorial formation of France.—Little Frances over Seas.—Tables.

AN Englishman landing at Calais and crossing France from north to south-west on his way to Pau, Biarritz, and Spain, or from north to south-east on his way to Marseilles, Nice, and Italy, might never be aware that there was such a thing as a French mountain. The highest points attained by the line are, first, the plateau of Beauce (478 feet) between Paris and Orleans (or between the Seine and the Loire), and then (410 feet) the tunnel of Livernan, between Angoulême and Libourne (or the Charente and the Dordogne.) The summit of the ridge through which this tunnel is bored reaches 646 feet, and this is the greatest elevation encountered by the line between Paris and Bayonne. Our traveller finds no mountains worthy of the name until he reaches the Spanish frontier and the PYRENEES.

So, too, the low range pierced by the Blaizy tunnel, at a height of 1,329 feet, between Paris and Dijon (or the Seine and the Saône,) does not quite reach 2,000 feet,

and from this elevation the traveller has nothing but a continual descent towards the Mediterranean by the valleys of the Saône and Rhône. The first high mountains he comes to lie east of Marseilles, as he nears the Italian frontier and the ALPS.

If our traveller were crossing France, not from north to south-west or south-east, but from west to east, between Bordeaux and Marseilles (or the Atlantic and the Mediterranean), the highest elevation he would reach would be 620 feet, at the Threshold of Naurouse*, between Toulouse and Carcassonne, or the valley of the Garonne and the coast of Languedoc. Further north, between La Rochelle and Belfort, or Nantes and Geneva, he would traverse plains, table-lands, vast tracts of undulating ground, before he reached the low hills of some 1,640 feet which divide the valley of the Loire from the valley of the Saône, between Digoin-sur-Loire and Châlons-sur-Saône or Mâcon. But in neither case would he find mountains until he neared the frontier of Alsace and the VOSGES, or the Swiss frontier and the JURA.

In fact, if the level of the seas which wash the French coast—the North Sea, the Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean—were to be suddenly raised by 656 feet (200 mètres), half France would be submerged. The North Sea would flow up the valley of the Meuse, to a point beyond Verdun (646 feet), and up the valleys of the Moselle and Meurthe as far as Nancy; it would cover the plain of Alsace as far as a point intermediate between Mulhouse and Colmar. The Atlantic and the Mediterranean would meet across the Threshold of Naurouse, and isolate the Pyrenees from the rest of France. The Mediterranean would make a gulf of the valley of the Rhône up to

* "Seuil de Naurouse," low hilly ground, constituting the watershed, but too indeterminate in shape to be called a "col" (neck or pass), and so insignificant in appearance as to be scarcely visible from the railway.

the mouth of the Isère, above Valence, and would penetrate in the shape of a long fiord into the valley of the Saône, to a point below Vesoul, on a level with Belfort. North-west of an imaginary line from Metz to Bayonne nothing of the whole French territory would remain but, on the one hand, scattered islands and islets formed by the high hills and low mountains which dominate the plains and valleys of northern and western France, and on the other hand, promontories pushed forward into these plains by the mighty mass of uplands which occupies the heart of France. Roughly speaking, this straight line drawn from Metz to Bayonne, and cutting through the confluence of the Allier and the Loire, divides France almost exactly into two regions, markedly distinct from one another.

THE COUNTRY: PLAINS AND PLATEAUS.

THE CHANNEL AND THE ATLANTIC.

North-west of this line we have first the low plateau, rarely exceeding 650 feet, which bears in different portions of it the names of Artois,* Upper Normandy (pays de Caux, pays de Bray, the Vexin, pays d'Auge, &c.,) the plain of Champagne, the Brie plateau, Gâtinais, Beauce and the Orléans plateau, Sologne, Berry, Poitou, Angoumois; and second, the plain not exceeding 320 feet (the plains of Flanders and of Picardy, Lower Normandy—Bessin, Cotentin—Upper Brittany, Anjou, Touraine, Bocage Vendéen, Aunis, Saintonge, and the Landes of Gascony), which is traversed by the principal river valleys. Some of these plains do not even reach 160 feet above the level of the sea. Such is the great plain of Flanders, intersected by canals and canalised rivers, themselves continued into Belgium, and, like the Belgian

* The countries named in this chapter are natural provinces or geographical districts, and by no means correspond with the political or administrative divisions (departments, &c.) of France.

plain itself, studded with industrial towns, factories, and mills. Such are the coast of Picardy or Marquenterre, the Caen district, the pastures of Bessin and of Cotentin around the Gulf of Carentan. Such is the Atlantic coast from the Pointe de Cornouaille in Brittany to the end of the Gulf of Gascony. Such are the Médoc wastes (*landes*), Saintonge, the Vendean marsh, and the Niort plain—the semicircle, in fact, which, starting from the Arcachon basin, passes by Bordeaux, Angoulême or Cognac, Niort, and the Sables d'Olonne. Such, further north, is the inland plain of Anjou behind the Nantes country on the Lower Loire. These, together with Flanders, constitute the French Low Countries,

In this lower region of plains and plateaus the great valleys open out towards the north-west, and the navigable rivers flow into the sea (the Channel or the Atlantic). The northernmost of these rivers, the Aa, is a mere canal in the Flemish plain, flowing into the North Sea, and connected by other canals with the Yser, the Lys, the Scarpe, and the Scheldt, all of them canalised rivers tending towards Belgian Flanders. South of Blanc Nez and Gris Nez, high promontories of the Artois plateau, which rise over the Pas de Calais, opposite the South Foreland and Dungeness of the English coast, we come to the Somme, the vast sandy estuary of which opens on the Channel. The Somme also is a canalised river, connected with the Scheldt and with the Seine basin by canals in the plains of Picardy. Next, the chalk cliffs of Normandy present to the Channel an almost continuous wall nearly everywhere more than 330 feet in height, the principal projections of which are formed by the Capes of Ailly, Antifer, and La Hève. This part of the coast recedes some centimètres* every year, owing to landslips and the erosion of the sea.

Beyond the Cape of La Hève, which is an ochreous cliff

* A centimètre is $\frac{1}{100}$ of a mètre, and a mètre is about 39 inches.

328 feet high, an indentation of the coast line forms the Seine Bay, where the finest navigable river in France makes its way into the sea. Pending the realisation of the scheme which would make Paris a sea-port, the ocean steamers go up the Seine as far as Rouen. From this tidal port a fleet of boats and barges makes its way up all the rivers of the basin—up the Oise and the Aisne, which are connected by canals with the Somme, the Scheldt, the Sambre, and the Meuse; up the Marne, which communicates with the Aisne, the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Saône; up the Aube, which flows to the Seine through the plains of Champagne, and which, though it is at a higher elevation than all the other tributaries of the main stream, is only 230 feet at the junction above the level of the sea; up the Yonne, which is connected with the Saône by the Burgundy canal, and by the Nivernais canal with the Loire; and, finally, up the Loing, which communicates with the Loire by the canals of Briare and of Orléans. This splendid network of navigable rivers, which have been prolonged by means of canals into the adjoining river basins, occupies a remarkable depression in the very heart of the plateau region. The plateau of Brie on its right bank, and Gâtinais and Beauce on its left, extend to some distance from the main stream, and in the Paris basin, from the confluence of the Yonne, about 164 feet, to that of the Oise, about 72 feet above the level of the sea, its valley widens considerably. Below Paris the river winds so that its devious course from Paris to the Channel is about 227 miles, instead of 105, as the crow flies. Havre on the bay, and Rouen on the Lower Seine, are mere outposts of the capital. The three towns constitute but a single city, of which the Seine is the main street, Havre the sea-port and gateway for America, Rouen the river-port, and Paris the vital centre, on which all the navigable waters of the basin converge, and whence railways radiate to all points of the circumference.

Southward from the mouth of the Seine, high cliffs, followed by a low coast line, which is lined, as it were, by an outer chain of reefs (the Rochers du Calvados), close in the Seine Bay. The Bay itself receives the Norman streams of Touques, Dives, Orne (of Caen), Vire, Taute, &c. Beyond it lies the Gulf of the Veys or Carentan, which, penetrating deeply into the land, narrows the Cotentin peninsula at its base. There the Isigny and Bessin butters are shipped for England, which country is moreover supplied with eggs, fruit, cheese, and poultry from the entire coast of Normandy; and, if England of old built the Tower of London with Norman flint, to-day she constructs her London embankments of Breton granites from Aberildut. The peninsula of Cotentin is a low undulating plain or plateau of some 656 feet above the sea level, with a cliff frontage ending on the north opposite the Isle of Wight and the Portland Bill in Barfleur Point and the Cape de la Hague, between which the military post of Cherbourg keeps watch and ward. The Channel Islands, Alderney, Sark, Guernsey, and Jersey, separated from the French coast by the Raz Blanchard and the Passage de la Déroute, constitute a geological and historical fragment of Normandy, and though an English possession, are geographically an annexe of France. Beyond and north of Alderney the channel reaches its greatest depth—590 feet—in a depression of its bed called by French sailors the Grande Fosse. On the other hand the Passage de la Déroute, off the cliffs of Flamanville and Carteret, is barely 164 feet deep, and is encumbered with rocks and reefs (the Dirouilles, the Ecréhou, the Bœufs, the Minquiers, and the Chausey), which form a submarine or partially submarine causeway between Jersey and the Norman coast.

At the Bay of Mont St. Michel, no less famous for its boundless sands than for the "marvel" of architecture which crowns its island rock, the coast of Normandy ends and that of

Brittany begins. This last pursues its course from headland to headland, from creek to creek, from beach to beach, and from promontory to promontory, giving shelter between its ridges to the Bays of St. Malo and St. Brieuc, to the estuaries of the Rance, the Trieux, the Dossen (or Morlaix river), to the "abers" or harbours of Abervrach, Aberbenoit, Aberildut, which conceal little ports in the inmost recesses of their windings, and pushing forward, like rock-sheaves, to the open sea Cape Fréhel and the points of Grouin, Talbert, Roscoff, &c. Innumerable islets, mere rocks for the most part, but utilised for the protection and illumination of the coast by means of forts and lighthouses, lie scattered off the coast (Bréhat Island, the Héaux, the Douvres, the Seven Isles, the Triagoz, Batz Island, Cézou, &c.,) and form natural roadsteads; while the Breton sands, vieing with those of Normandy, attract crowds of bathers every summer.

Cape Corsen, off which lies Ushant, is the westernmost promontory of France, or rather of the mainland, for the capes which Ushant throws out towards the Atlantic are the true terminal points of France. Here the chops of the Channel lose themselves in the great Atlantic roller, which has broken on no coast since Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Ushant and its encircling islets play the same part at this French land's end, so well named Finistère, as do the Scilly Isles off the Land's End of Cornwall. There opens out, as between the two pillars of a gateway, the sea which separates France from England. The French name for it is *La Manche* (the sleeve) from the shape of its coast-line, while the English call it the Channel, a name which rather recalls its geological formation. The resemblances between the two opposite shores are indeed so striking that the strait must have been a formation of recent geological date. On both coasts the strata correspond, and succeed one another in the same order. Each stratum penetrated during the Weald borings bears witness to the close geological resem-

blance between the two countries now divided by the narrow trench of the Channel. The two shores, as Michelet has said, constitute a single valley with the Channel for its bed. The geographical configuration, and the nature of the rocks on both sides, all go to show that Great Britain is a detached fragment of the European continent. The Straits of Dover, which separate it from France, are only 19 miles wide and 177 feet deep. Moreover, two chalk banks, the Vaine and the Colbart, form shallows in this shallow strait.

Beyond Ushant, which is divided from the mainland by the passage of Fromveur and the Four Channel, open out the splendid roadstead of Brest, bristling with forts along the whole of its circumference, and the Bay of Douarnenez, lying between Pointe St. Mathieu and Pointe du Raz, the two separated from each other by lofty promontories. These two horns of the Armorican peninsula, carried on into the sea by rock-causeways—the Pierres Noires, Béniguet, Molène, &c., on the north, Sein and Armen, on the south—enclose the Gulf of Iroise, which is lighted by the beacons of Armen and the Pierres Noires. Rounding the Raz Point, which guards a sea of terror full of sinister names (Baie des Trépassés, or Dead Men's Bay, and Enfer de Plogoff,) we come to Penmarch Point; and then the southern coast of Brittany, not so high as the northern coast, reassumes its indented fiord-like character, and once more fringes itself with rocks and islets, which recall in miniature the Skjærgaard of Norway. Little natural harbours nestle in the estuaries. A series of islands—Les Glenans, Groix, Belle Ile, Noirmoutier, Yeu, Ré, Oleron—partially mask the coast between this point and the Gironde. The peninsula of Quiberon, prolonged seawards by the Houat and Hoedik Islets, shuts back on the Quiberon roadstead, which is a vast harbour of refuge for war-ships, and within easy reach of the military port of Lorient. Lying further back, the sea-lagoon of Morbihan (100 miles square

and 65 feet deep,) besprinkled with an archipelago of islets, and ringed by moorlands which are peopled with megalithic monuments and phantom stones, indents with its fiords the coasts of Vannes and Auray. Hard by is the mouth of the Vilaine, which, communicating by canal with the Rance estuary in the Bay of St. Malo, forms the connecting link between the two Breton coasts. This water-way cuts across the Armorican peninsula almost at its root.

Beyond Croisic point, between the points of Chemoulin and St. Gildas, the Loire flows into the Atlantic by a wide and sand-hemmed bed, up which sea-going vessels make their way, with difficulty, as far as Nantes; most of them stop at St. Nazaire. The Loire is the longest of the French rivers, and its basin, which is the most extensive of French river basins, covers a quarter of the entire territory of France. But although it receives at low elevations great navigable tributaries, the Allier at 564 feet above the sea, the Cher at 127 feet, the Vienne at 98, and the Maine at 46, the Loire is so uncertain a stream as to be of but little use for inland navigation. In proportion as the Seine, a spring-fed river, is regular, is the Loire eccentric. Alternately brimmed by floods and thinned by droughts, it is an immense lowland torrent, liable to perilous overflows, rather than an industrial river. It has been found necessary to duplicate it with a lateral canal from Roanne to Briare. In this part of its upper course, above Orleans, boats and barges can pass from the Loire to the Saône (Rhône basin) by the Central canal, to the Yonne by the Nivernais canal, and to the Seine by the Briare or Orleans canals, which cross Gâtinais; while, on the left bank, the Berry canal combines with the Cher to form a water-way around the wooded plateau of Sologne, and the little mountain of Sancerre (1,424 feet). On the Lower Loire the plain of Anjou is furrowed with a network of navigable rivers, converging on Angers—the Vienne, and the Thouet, on the left bank; the Loir, the Sarthe, the

Mayenne, and the Oudon, on the right bank. Lastly, the Loire estuary at Nantes communicates, first, with the Vilaine, and consequently with Rennes and St. Malo, next, with the Blavet, which leads to the military port of Lorient, and finally, with the roadstead of Brest, by a navigable canal, which may be called the longitudinal artery of Brittany.

Behind great muddy bays (the bay of Bourgneuf, the creek of Aiguillon, the estuary of the Seudre), the flat coast of Vendée, Aunis, and Saintonge draws out its marshy plains and widens into the splendid beach of the Sables d'Olonne. At the inmost corner of the straits (locally known as "pertuis"), which divide the islands of Ré and Oleron from the main land, and which are indicated to vessels by a light-ship—the latter isolated in the open sea on the submarine plateau of Rochebonne—lie hidden La Rochelle and Rochefort. La Rochelle lies at the very angle of the inwards-trending Atlantic coast, with its deep harbour of La Pallice on the Pertuis Breton, while Rochefort is a military port on the Lower Charente, with its roadsteads of Aix Island, Les Basques, and Les Trousses, all under the fire of forts, and well sheltered by the natural breakwater of the Island of Oleron. The little streams of these "Low Countries," or "Little Flanders," completed as they are by canals, are navigable—the Sèvre as far as Niort, and the Charente as far as Angoulême. But if the roadsteads of the Pertuis d'Antioche and the harbours of the inner coast are well protected by islands, on the other hand, on the side of the open sea, we have a deserted coast smitten, under the whip of west winds, by the Atlantic surge. A narrow ridge of dunes begins on the "wild coast" of Oleron, interrupted first by the Pertuis de Maumusson (whose significant name—"Mauvais Museau"—reveals the dangerousness of these waters), next by the wide estuary of the Gironde. Beyond this point it prolongs itself in a straight line southwards, and acts as a selvaige or border to the flat region

of the Landes of Gascony, as far as a point beyond the mouth of the Adour.

This thin ridge of dunes, which is covered with pinasters (*pinus maritima*), like the vast forest of the Landes behind it, rises to a height of 200 feet above the "Mauvais Museau" of the Point of Arvert. On the Landes coast, between the Gulf of Gascony and a long string of inland lagoons, the sand-crest is as much as 292 feet above the sea. This is in the neighbourhood of Arcachon basin, and close to that pine-scented winter resort. The yellow dune, with its clothing of evergreen trees, continues only a little way beyond the mouth of the Adour. In front of Biarritz the coast, becoming rocky, is scooped into beaches, bristles with headlands, and then, forming itself into a grey line of cliffs, runs on beyond the circular Bay of St. Jean de Luz, and ends at the mouth of the Bidassoa. There, in the Basque country, in the innermost Gulf of Gascony, it attains its goal, and, ceasing to be French, becomes Spanish, at the foot of the Cantabrian Pyrenees.

Two rivers of very unequal importance make a break in this ridge of coast dunes—the immense estuary of the Gironde and the Adour. The Adour, a quick torrential river from the Upper Pyrenees, reinforced by the clear Basque streams, and by all the "gaves" or mountain brooks of Béarn, makes its way to the sea through the Landes forest, and falls into it below the harbour of Bayonne. The mighty Gironde, which meets the open sea at the island beacon of Cordouan below Royan, between the Coubre and Grave Points, separates flat Médoc from flat Saintonge. It is formed by two great rivers—the Garonne and the Dordogne—and by them drains at once the highest Pyrenees and the Central Plateau. Sea-going vessels ascend the river as far as Bordeaux on the Garonne, and as far as Libourne on the Dordogne. The Vézère and the Isle, which flow through Périgord, into the Dordogne, the Tarn, the Lot, &c.,

which rank among the chief tributaries of the Garonne, are used by boats and barges. This great south-western river basin communicates by the Canal du Midi, at a point beyond Toulouse, with the Mediterranean coast and with the Rhône, on the further side of that Naurouse Threshold which, as we saw,* is less than 656 feet (200 mètres) above the sea.

In all this northern and western half of the French territory the few plateau-ridges, low mountain and hill-ranges which reach a greater altitude, and which would emerge like islands out of an inundation of 656 feet in depth, are, in chief, the granite heights of *Gâtine* (935 ft.)—the backbone of Poitou, between the Niort plain and the Loire valley—the *Monts de la Bretagne* (Ménez, 1,115 ft.; Monts d'Arrée, 1,283 ft.; Ménez Hom, 1,082 ft.)—the granitic and schistose prominences of the heathy and oak-clad peninsula—and the *hills of Maine and of Lower Normandy*, rising to 1,368 ft. in the high forest districts near Alençon. These little summits of the MULTONNE and ECOUVES forests are the culminating points of the whole north-west of France. They join on to the Perche hills, which act as a watershed between the Seine and the Loire, and which dominate the vast plain of Beauce, that "Fertile Steppe" which is all gold with wheat-ears under an August sun. North of the Seine the plateaus of Upper Normandy, around the Bray district, rise to 807 ft., the hills of Artois to 695 ft. Between the Oise and the Aisne the forest of St. Gobain (721 ft.); between the Aisne and the Marne the forest of Villers-Cotterets (836 ft.); between the Aisne and the Marne, and, further on, between the Marne and the Seine, the "Mountains" of Rheims (918 ft.), and the inland cliffs of the Brie plateau over the plain of "lousy" Champagne;† between the Seine and the Yonne the great forest of Othe (955 ft.), &c.;—all

* *Supra*, p. 2.

† "Champagne Pouilleuse," *infra*, p. 27.

these are over 656 ft. (200 mètres) in height. Towards the east, at the very limit of the Seine basin, the *Argonne*, between the Aisne and the Meuse, uplifts a forest-clad chain with summits of 1,010–1,138 ft.; further on, the *Meuse Hills* (Côtes de Meuse) reach a height of 1,352 ft. between the Meuse and the Moselle, and the *Moselle Hills* (Côtes de Moselle) a height of 1,197–1,387 ft., both rising above the high Woëvre plain—that battle-ground of the future between Toul, Metz, and Verdun—which itself is above 656 ft. (200 mètres) in height. These three hill-chains of the Lorraine country, between the Aisne and the Moselle, and this Woëvre plain, form the link between the Central Plateau of France and the vast forest of *Ardennes*, the latter a schistose plateau nowhere exceeding 1,653 ft. in height as long as it remains within the French border. It is continued into Belgium, Luxemburg, and Rhenish Prussia, between the Sambre, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine. Through this plateau the Meuse has had to carve its way, and flows through it in grand gorges from 656 to 885 ft. deep, but in all its basin there is not a single mountain.

THE UPPER PLATEAUS, THE MOUNTAINS, AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Very different is the character of that half of French territory which is situated to the south-east of the ideal line drawn from Metz to Bayonne. This half belongs to the mountain—at least for the greater part. For even in the east, the south, the centre, and the south-west of France we find plains and plateaus. The heart of the country has ever received the name of CENTRAL PLATEAU. The mountain-chains which may be noted in it are not, in fact, high ridges between two valleys, but, rather, the more considerable protuberances of a general elevation of the ground. From this high granitic Central Plateau,

the geological nucleus and true water-tower of France, descend, in their upper gorges, the Loire, with its great southern affluents (the Allier, the Cher, the Creuse, and the Vienne), the Charente, the Dordogne, with its branching tributaries (the Vézère, the Isle, and the Dronne), and, lastly, the great affluents of the Garonne right bank (the Lot, with its tributary the Truyère, the Tarn, and the Aveyron). Across this vaulting of primitive strata, covered here and there with a vast armour plating of volcanic lava, mounts the railway which crosses the country from north to south, from Nevers, at the confluence of the Allier, to Béziers in the plains of Languedoc. It is on this railway, which forms the direct route from Dunkirk or Calais to Barcelona by Paris, Bourges or Nevers, Clermont-Ferrand, and Narbonne, that the highest viaduct in the world has been built. This is the Bridge of Garabit, 1,854 ft. long, at the dizzy height of 403 ft. above the gorge of the Truyère. The cupola of St. Paul's, London, would disappear 42 ft. below the bridge's floor.* Other railways, right and left of this central line, fail to cross the plateau summit at less heights than 3,379 ft. (the Bastide tunnel on the line from Clermont to Nîmes by the Allier valley), and 3,802 ft. (the Lioran tunnel between Clermont and Figeac).

The *Mont Dore* and the *Mont du Cantal* are the highest summits of the Plateau. These Auvergne mountains, which were once active volcanoes, have no rivals among French mountains, with the exception of the two lofty frontier-chains, the Alps and the Pyrenees. They drop down, to the north, on the provinces of Bourbonnais and Marche; to the west, on the proud and sombre Limousin; while to the south-west they dip gradually in the limestone table-lands ("causses") of Rouergue and of Quercy, towards the smiling

* The top of the cross of St. Paul's is said by most authorities to be 404 feet from the pavement beneath. Mr. Loftie, however ("Tourist's Guide to London," Stanford, 1881), puts it at 365 feet.—*Translator's Note.*

valleys of the basin of the Garonne. The general slope of the plateau is indicated by the river courses which flow from south to north, like the Loire, or from east to west, like the Lot; or, rather, the Plateau has two long slopes, the one towards the north or north-west, the other towards the south-west. On the south-east, on the contrary, and on the east, it faces the plains of Languedoc and the Rhône valley with a steep and precipitous counterslope, deeply cut in every direction by torrents hurrying headlong to the right bank of the Rhône or to the Mediterranean. This counterslope is called the *Cévennes*, and it assumes an imposing aspect to anyone who gazes at it from the Languedoc coast or from the Rhône valley, from any point in fact of the abrupt depression which forms, as it were, the exterior boulevard of the Acropolis of France.

Beginning above the Threshold of Naurouse with the Montagne Noire, right opposite the last buttresses of the Pyrenees, the Cévennes lift above the rich plains of the departments of Aude, Hérault, Gard, and even as far as Lozère and Ardèche, their jagged escarpments crowned with peaks. But these peaks, the Aigoual itself (5,141 ft.) included, whose granite crown tops the mountain-face so proudly at the source of the Hérault, are but the edge of the great plateau of the "Causses," those gloomy, rugged, and undiversified upland solitudes which take their names from the calcareous formation of the strata, and which rise to a height of 4,193 ft. just behind this very Aigoual. Seen from the north, the Aigoual only overtops the bulk of the Plateau by about 980 ft., while it plunges southwards in an abrupt descent upon the gorges of the Hérault. This is the part of the Central Plateau which the tributaries of the Garonne have carved into distinct blocks (*Causse de Sauveterre, Causse Méjan, Causse Noir, Larzac, &c.*), forming in the living rock cañons of a beauty unique in Europe, and recalling the cañons of Colorado in the United States. The

cañons of Tarn, from 1,640 to 1,970 ft. deep, are particularly formidable. These masses of rock fall perpendicularly, in white or yellow cliffs, into the gorge where the river flows at the foot of an abysmal precipice. At the sources of the Tarn, the Lot, the Allier, and the Gard, rises the little chain, running at right angles to the Cévennes, whence radiate northwards the principal ranges of the Central Plateau. This chain, the *Lozère*, is, as it were, the knob where the sticks of a fan centre. Starting from it, and diverging from north-east to north-west, are three lines of ranges :

1. Toward the north-east, continuing the axis of the Cévennes and the eastern slope of the Plateau above the valley of the Rhône, are the *Monts du Vivarais* (Tanargue, Mézenc, Meygal, Pilat) where rises the Loire. These hills are carried on to the north by the Lyonnais, Beaujolais, Mâconnais, and Charollais hills, by the Morvan, the Côte d'Or, the plateau of Langres, &c., which form the summit of the watershed between the valleys of, first, the Rhône, and, next, the Saône (Rhône basin) on the one hand, and the Loire or the Seine on the other—which are, that is, the main beam of the continental roof between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

2. To the north, the *Monts du Velay*, extinct volcanoes between the upper gorges of the Loire and the Allier, which are carried on by the *Monts du Forez*, the *Bois Noirs*, and the *Madeleine*. They lie between the plain of Forez, which is the bottom of an ancient lake that has been drained by the Loire, and the Limagne of Auvergne, another rich and fertile plain watered by the Allier.

3. To the north-west, forming the dividing summit between the waters which pass to the Loire by the Allier, and those which descend to the Garonne, are the *Monts de la Margeride*, in front of which rises the volcanic *Aubrac*, enveloped on every side by the springs of the Lot ; the extinct volcanoes of the *Cantal*, communicating with the Gévaudan district by the ancient lava plain of Planèze ; the

Cézallier, also cased with basalt; the volcanoes of the *Mont Dore*, where rises the Dordogne, and those of *Dôme*, which command Clermont, and which are joined to the Limousin mountains by vast solemn plateaus like the Scotch Highlands.

It will now be seen that the granite core of the Central Plateau, bristling with five groups of ancient volcanoes (Vivaraïs, Velay, Aubrac, Cantal, Dore, and Dôme)—a vast conflagration now extinct; cut by basalt-walled gorges, with regular columnar prisms like organ pipes; rich in mineral waters (especially in Ardèche), which betray the ancient volcanic centre; sinking here and there into verdant plains of an “insolent” richness and fertility; darkened to this day by vast fir-woods, or cheered by the bright green of pastures; a country which nourishes a patient, laborious, obstinate race, in which is perpetuated that ancient Arvernian tenacity which our time associates with the names of Gergovia and Vercingetorix—this Central Plateau supplies the traveller with inexhaustible objects of study or of wonder.

Very different is the aspect of the PYRENEES. Although they cover an extensive region both in France and Spain, and though they interpose a dense block of mountains between the Ebro in Spain and the Garonne in France, or rather between the *llanos* of Aragon and of Catalonia on the one side, and the plains of the Landes and the hills of Gascony, Béarn, and Languedoc on the other, the Pyrenees present, notwithstanding, a great simplicity of structure. To a traveller surveying the marvellous panorama before him, from the terraces of Orthez, Pau, Tarbes, or Montréjeau, the Pyrenees are the most perfect type of the Cordillera or the Sierra, forming, as they do, a long range fringed with aerial, light-bathed peaks. Nothing can equal the delicacy and variety of tints which the mountain assumes according to the hour of the day. And these high summits, dazzling

with glacier-snows, and turning blue or rose-colour according as the air is vaporous or clear, have a boldness of spring, a delicacy of colour, a grace of outline, an elegance of form, which make them a joy for ever to the eye.

But when we plunge into the defiles of the valleys which are noisy with the gushing of the mountain streams ("gaves"), and become more intimately acquainted with the range, we realise that it is composed, not of a simple chain, or of a single backbone supported by lateral buttresses, but of a succession of parallel ridges, the highest of which is pretty closely followed by the line of frontier. In the Pyrenees of Ariège, notably, where the range is at its broadest, three successive foldings of the ground may be thus distinguished; and, in the Upper Pyrenees, the Pic du Midi de Bigorre is the apex of a mighty mountain mass which stands forward from the main chain. Among the features of the Pyrenees are tarns, lofty waterfalls, fine forests of beech and fir, a few glaciers, some magnificent combes or "cirques" (Gavarnie, Troumouse, Estaubé, &c.), and a number of summer resorts famous for their waters. The railway turns the Pyrenees at each end (from Bayonne to Madrid, and from Narbonne to Barcelona), on the west at the foot of Mont Rhune in the Basque country, and on the east below the buttresses of Mont Albères. A few roads cross them in the western or eastern portion of the chain; none yet traverses the Central Pyrenees where the chain is highest and broadest; but several railways, now stopped short at the end of the valleys where rises the mountain wall, are only waiting for Spain and France to come to an understanding to be carried on into the land beyond the mountains—*tras los montes*.

The low coasts of Roussillon and of Languedoc, pitted with salt lagoons, and harbourless save for the port of Cette, form a semicircle around the Gulf of Lyons, and link on the terminal promontories of the Eastern Pyrenees (Capes

Cerbère and Béar), to the great plains of the Rhône delta (Camargue and Crau). Two projections of the coast, Cape Leucate and the Cape of Agde (the latter commanded by the extinct volcano of the Pic St. Loup), have served as base-points to the sand-strips which separate the lagoons from the Mediterranean. Perpignan, Narbonne, Béziers, Montpellier, and Nîmes, trading, scientific, and artistic centres, either commercially important or of great historic interest, stand back from the coast, at some distance from the sea, and have no harbours. At the back of the sand-ridge the Canal du Midi links together the series of lagoons, and makes an unbroken waterway between the Upper Garonne above Toulouse, and the delta of the Rhône. Towards this latter river, not only the Alpine and the Cévennes torrents, but those of Roussillon, Languedoc, and Lower Provence, all converge as towards the main drain of the whole Mediterranean slope.

Turbulent and grandiose, the Rhône is a true son of the Alps. It tears along its valley bed with the headlong fury of a torrent. Descending in a turbid flood from the Swiss glaciers, emerging pure and blue from the Lake at Geneva, purified by the lake but no wise tamed, the stream strikes, bites, carves, or clasps the successive ridges of the Jura, and, victorious over the rock-grip which, far from subduing, has only made it still more tumultuous, alternately dispersing into numerous branches, or expanding in a lake-like sheet, between banks which are constantly being remodelled, where they are carried irresistibly away by this hurrying whirlwind, it once more loads itself with yellowish silt, and returns to the turbidity of its youth. The whole plain in the neighbourhood of Lyons is composed of soils brought down in this way. Pursued by twenty rapid rivers, which finally catch it up and urge it on still faster, this wild current separates the Central Plateau from the region of the Alps. The gradually widening plain below Valence,

and below the confluence of the Isère, through which the Rhône runs, flying straight as an arrow from Lyons to Marseilles, is nothing but an ancient gulf of the Mediterranean, raised bit by bit above the sea by the turbid flood of mountain detritus. Steamboats descend the river from Lyons, and, during the summer months, even take Aix-les-Bains passengers to Lyons from the Lake of Bourget. But it is by the Saône and its tributaries above Lyons that the really useful river traffic is carried on. The slow, placid Saône, in its wide meadow-valley, is the real traffic river of the basin. The Saône does the work while the Rhône blows the trumpet. The Saône is connected with the Loire by the Central Canal, with the Rhine, the plain of Alsace, and the towns of Mulhouse, Basle, and Strasbourg by the Doubs and the Rhône Canal; with the Yonne, and consequently the Seine, by the Burgundy Canal; with the Seine basin once again, and with the minor basins of northern France by the Marne Canal; and with the Meuse by the Eastern Canal. This last constitutes a direct and continuous water-way between the North Sea and the Mediterranean, by way of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone, while the connections between the Saône and the Seine enable torpedo boats to cross France from sea to sea on their way from Havre to Toulon.

Whether called Savoy, Dauphiné, or Provence, all the mountains east of the Rhône belong to the region of the ALPS, from the shores of the blue Lake Léman to the ruddy promontories of Provence, and from glacier-shrouded summits where not even the pale edelweiss can grow to the burning plains perfumed with lavender and myrtle where the chirp of the grasshopper vibrates through the grey leafage of the olive tree.

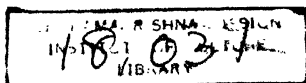
If, in face of the Pyrenees, one gazes with delight upon a peaceful mountain congress, in the heart of the Alps, on the other hand, and in face of their mighty masses, a man

may think that he is penetrating into the very bowels of the earth and has become an unbidden spectator of the frightful convulsions of the planet. Of this, the highest European chain, the highest point—MONT BLANC—is in Savoy, and consequently in France. The Alps can show dazzling glaciers and vast fields of eternal snow on the Pelvoux and the Monts de l'Oisans, on the Grandes Rousses, not far from Grenoble, and in the Vanoise, between the Maurienne and the Tarentaise valleys (or between the Arc and the Isère), &c.; but on none of their summits do the firths of ice* spread ampler on a more majestic dome. The coldest eye is dazzled when from one of the outposts of the chain it suddenly descries the white cupola of the hoary giant enthroned in impassible calm above our storm-tossed Europe.

The Alps, to speak only of the French Alps, are a world by themselves. What distinguishes them, over and above their colossal dimensions and the power and mass of their system, is the complexity of their structure, which, notwithstanding, is so arranged as to make them far easier to cross than the Pyrenees. In the first place, they are cut into distinct blocks by valleys at right angles to their axis (the Faucigny, or valley of the Arve; the Tarentaise, or valley of the Isère; the Maurienne, or valley of the Arc, along which last the Mont Cenis line just manages to make its way; the Oisans, or valley of the Romanche; the districts of Briançon, Embrun, and Gap, or the valley of the Durance; the Queyras, or valley of the Guil; the Barcelonnette valley, or valley of the Ubaye). Moreover, they are flanked, on the side of the Rhône valley, by a whole range of outliers, which are detached from the parent chain by the depressions of deep valleys lying lengthwise, or parallel to their axis—the high Arve valley, or valley of Chamonix; the Col de Mégève; the Arly valley,

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* "Mers de glace."



or valley of Albertville; the Graisivaudan, or valley of the Isère, as far as Grenoble; the Trièves and Champsaur, or valley of the Drac; the Col Bayard, above Gap; the wide Durance valley, below Gap—and these valleys, taken together, form a long furrow from north to south actually within the system. These outliers, separated again from one another into distinct blocks, form as it were a series of detached forts or bastions drawn up outside the curtain of a fortress. So much so that really the Alps are in France rather than in Italy (where they descend in a steep counterslope upon the plain of Piedmont,) while the Pyrenees, on the contrary, for a similar reason, are less in France than in Spain. Only the back of the Pyrenees belongs to France; while the Alps, even in respect of their inhabitants, are French. The general plastic character of French mountains will be gathered from what has been said. They are like great waves, one following another from west to east over a slanting strand, solidified of a sudden at the very instant when their crests were rolling shorewards and about to break. The Alps, the Central Plateau, the Jura, the Vosges, the plateaus between the Seine and the Saône; the successive foldings of the Argonne, and even the inland cliffs of Brie over Champagne, all answer to this description. The only mountain-wave which pursues its course from south to north is the great roller of the Pyrenees.

Proceeding from north to south, the outlying ranges of the Alps are:—

1. That of *Chablais* and the *Dranse* rivers, where the Buet and the Dent du Midi rise supreme, between the Arve of Faucigny and the Upper Rhône, and whence the Dranse descends from Savoy to Lake Léman. The Col de Balme forms a link between this group and that of Mont Blanc, and with the Voirons it pushes forward nearly to Geneva.
2. The group of the *Bornes* and *Aravis*, between the

river Arve and the lake of Annecy. From it the streams of Usses and Fier find their way to the Rhône; it is connected with Mont Joli and the Mont Blanc range by the Col de Mégève on the east, and dips upon Geneva from the height of Mont Salève.

3. The group of *Bauges*, between the lake of Annecy, the Isère valley (which last separates it from the Vanoise group in the main chain), the opening ("trouée") of Chambéry and Montmélian, and the lake of Bourget. This range sends to the Rhône (by way of the Fier) the Chéran, dips on Annecy from the top of Semnoz, and on Chambéry from the Dent de Nivolet.

4. The group of the *Grande Chartreuse*, with its sombre forest slopes, where the fine pyramid of Chamechaude holds sway, lying between the opening of Chambéry and of Montmélian, the Graisivaudan or valley of the Isère above Grenoble, and, once more, the Isère valley below Grenoble. This range is separated by the Graisivaudan from the Belledonne chain and from the ice-clad group of the Grandes Rousses and from Mount Thabor, which last is itself divided from the Pelvoux group by the Oisans valley. It sends the Guier to the Rhône, over which it throws out to the north the Mont du Chat, the western rampart of the lake of Bourget, and it dips on Chambéry from the proud steep of Mont Granier.

5. The *Monts de Lans* and *du Vercors*, where the great Veymont lords it between the valley of the Isère, the Trièves or valley of the Drac, the Col de la Croix Haute, the Buech valley, the Col de Cabre, and the valley of the Drôme; it sends the Bourne to the Rhône by way of the Isère. These mountains are separated from the Aiguille d'Olan and Pelvoux groups by the valley of the Drac, are connected with the group of Dévoluy to the south-east by the Col de la Croix Haute, through which passes the tunnel of the line from Grenoble to Marseilles, and

throw out Mont d'Ambel to the west, over the Rhône in the direction of Valence.

6. The *Dévoluy*, dominated by the Obiou, and lying between the valley of the Upper Drac or Champsaur, the Col Bayard which dips on Gap, the valleys of the two Buechs, and the Col de la Croix Haute.

7. The *Monts de la Drôme*, a more extensive but less compact group, lying between the Drôme, the Buech, and the valley of the Durance which separates them from the Maritime Alps. They push forward over the lower Durance with the chain of Lubéron and the mountain of Vaucluse; east of Orange they rise in the storm-beaten peak of Mont Ventoux, which holds the left bank of the Rhône, and faces the Aigoual on the right. The two peaks are, as it were, the two pillars of the triumphal arch through which the Rhône descends victorious to the sea. On its way the Drôme mountains hurl torrents at it, of which the Durance is the most destructive, besides sending it the little river Sorgues of Vaucluse, whose bright and brimming stream Petrarch has made immortal.

8. The *Mountains of Lower Provence*—scattered chains and blocks of mountain between the Durance and the Mediterranean; the Alpines over the plain of Crau near Arles and Avignon; St. Victoire, St. Baume, Mont Olympe, above Aix and Marseilles; the Montagne des Maures, and the Estérel between Toulon and Cannes, off which lie the islands of Hyères and of Lerins. To the north-east the ranges which command Nice, and form a girdle to the Var basin, join on or belong to the Maritime Alps, in other words the main Alpine chain.

On the low monotonous coast of the Gulf of Lyons there is only one harbour, Cette, while the towns stand back at some distance inland, away from the dead stagnant waters; but in Provence, on the other hand, all the life is along the coast. Avignon, Arles on the Rhône,

Marseilles, that gateway of France on the Orient, Toulon, Hyères, St. Tropez, Cannes, Antibes, Nice, all these towns have "one foot in the water." And Provence herself takes the sea with her steep and sombre promontories between which blue creeks ("calanques") lie hidden. She anticipates Corsica with her bushy underwood ("maquis"), Greece with the calcined crests of her barren but perfumed mountain ranges which have gained her the name of the perfumed beggar-woman ("gueuse parfumée"), and Africa itself with her palms and orange trees.

North of the Rhône and of Lake Léman, the Jura draws up in line on Swiss and on French territory the successive ridges of its austere plateau, where great breadths of sombre forest alternate with the cleared and open ground, and where the highest ridge looks full upon the Alps across the depression of the Swiss lakes. It is like a gigantic staircase which, from the banks of the Saône, from the plains of Dombes and Bresse, from the low country of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, ascends towards Mont Blanc. Of a sudden the ground sinks from under, and the last flight remains suspended in the void, hanging over the abyss where Lake Léman curves her azure crescent.

Between the successive steps of the plateau quick streams flow in rocky gorges, and clear, deep tarns sleep in the combes or clefts ("cluses").

To the north lies the opening ("trouée") of Belfort (1,129 ft. high at the *Seuil de Valdiéu*), that open gate between the Rhône and the Rhine, across which a bronze lion is couchant, and beyond it again rise the "Ballons" of the Vosges, a charming chain of forest-clad hill-tops, and gentle, rounded summits, which separate Lorraine and its cold plateaus from the smiling plain of Alsace, edged with vines and embroidered with hop-gardens. From the "clearings" ("chaumes") of the summit the eye perceives the Rhine flashing between its islands, and, at the far

extremity of the plain, in its blood-coloured sandstone robe, the lonely spire of Strasbourg, a watchful sentinel, scanning the horizon—

*
“ Spire whose silent finger points to Heaven.” *

Fast rooted by its eastern frontiers in the main trunk of Europe, and supported solidly by Spain on the south; situated between north and south, at the point where the great diagonals of the continent (from Germany to Spain and from Italy to England), intersect the junction of the lines drawn between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean; belonging at once to the Ocean and to the Mediterranean, and so to the Latin and to the Western world, to the civilisation of Rome, and to the Celtic and Teutonic culture; the “vibration-centre of all the movements which agitate Western Europe;” remarkable above all other countries for the elegance, harmony, and balance of its forms: so strongly marked off by nature that its geographical and national individuality is at once visible on a map of Europe: bastioned on every side except the north by a wall of hill and mountain, with the neighbouring seas to fill up the circuit; gathered in the centre into a compact triangular plateau, a granite acropolis, around which the depressions of the valleys and the great plains are disposed like an exterior boulevard; so regular in outline that the eye involuntarily gives it a geometrical form, and frames it within an octagon or a hexagon; solid, but yet so lightly poised that it seems instinct with the mobility of a living organism; lying equidistant from the Pole and from the

* Wordsworth. Gautier has translated Wordsworth's line in his beautiful little poem, beginning—

“ Je n'ai jamais rien lu de Wordsworth, le poète
Dont parle Lord Byron d'un ton si plein de fiel,
Qu'un seul vers;—le voici, car je l'ai dans la tête :
Clochers silencieux montrant du doigt le ciel.”

Equator, precisely in the middle of the temperate zone ; a country whose bearings coincide exactly with the meridians of longitude, of which latter, one, that of Paris, acts as its median line, and, just as if it were its axis, passes through the two extremities of the country, north and south, and through the centre of the geometrical figure, after having cut through the capital ; occupying the mean in point of extent among the countries of the world, and occupying the mean also by her population and by its density—there you have “ France as It Is.”

II.—AGRICULTURE.

Possessing a climate of infinite variety, France is the land of corn, wine, and fruit. In 1885 the land under wheat amounted to nearly 17,000,000 acres, an area which varies little from year to year. The grain produced has reached an average of 17·7 bushels per acre, and the average price has been 21·17 francs the quintal.* The cultivation of wheat is not only by far the most extensive, but it is also the only possible cultivation on about 12,000,000 acres of French soil. It gives its best results in the Paris basin. Paris is not far off, and Paris is in the centre of the plateaus which count among the best “ granaries of France ”—Beauce, Brie, and the department of the North. The lower basin of the Loire, the middle basin of the Garonne, and indeed every part of France, possesses good land for wheat. Rye is the cereal of the hungry plateaus and poor light soils, lying for the most part in the centre and in the south—*e.g.*, in Argonne, the poor part of Champagne (“ Champagne Pouilleuse ”), Brittany, and Rouergue. In the district of the Central Plateau the natives distinguish the “ *causses* ”—limestone soils good for wheat—from the “ *ségalas*,” that is, mica-schists, gneiss, or granite soils which grow rye. Barley is cultivated in the north-west, the north,

* The quintal is a measure of weight = 100 kilogrammes, or 220·46 lb.

the centre, &c. Oats are grown almost everywhere, but less in the south, south-east, and south-west than elsewhere. The basin of the Garonne—*i.e.*, the south-west—and the Mediterranean south grow maize. Buckwheat ("sarrasin") is a product of granitic soils, and is grown on the least fertile lands of Brittany and the Central Plateau, &c. In the department of the Pyrénées Orientales the sun is hot enough to grow rice on soils which have been kept under water. The potato is grown more or less everywhere.

Among industrial plants, beetroot, used for the manufacture of French sugar, is grown on a great scale only in the departments of the north and in the near neighbourhood of Paris; oleaginous plants and grains (the colza, poppy, and turnip) only in the north, the east, and in Normandy; saffron, used for dyeing, is grown on a small scale in Gâtinais and Vaucluse; madder in Vaucluse and Bouches du Rhône; tobacco almost everywhere, though principally in the south-west. Of the textile plants hemp is grown chiefly in the north-west, the west, and the centre; less in the south and the east, to a slight extent only in the north-east, the north, and the south-west. Flax, on the contrary, is planted chiefly in the north, and only to a comparatively trifling extent in the north-west, the west, the south-west, and the south.

Forests abound chiefly in the east, where they cover a series of concentric crests in the circumference of the Paris basin. From the forest of Mormal (in the Nord), an immense forest zone, which (except on the Upper Oise) lies outside the Paris basin, spreads from north to south, through one frontier department after another, passing by the forest of Ardennes, the Meuse and Moselle Hills, the Haye forest, near Nancy, the Vosges range, black with Norway-pine and fir, the woods of Haute Saône, the Doubs Hills, the great forest of Chaux, and the wooded ridges of the Jura. A second zone, concentric

with the outer zone, and equally dense, is joined to the Ardennes by the forest of Argonne, and, passing by the Haute Marne, the Aube, the Côte d'Or, and the Yonne, spreads itself out till it covers the granite heights of Morvan and the hills and plateaus of Nivernais, which command the Loire. With the exception of the Oise, which descends from the Ardennes, the great tributaries of the Seine, and the Seine itself, rise in this forest zone. The Othe forest (in the departments of Aube and Yonne), and those of the inland cliffs of Brie, rising over Champagne (in the departments of Marne and Seine-et-Marne)—the latter backed, on the south-west, by the beautiful Fontainebleau Forest, that beloved resort of landscape painters—mark out two inner and smaller zones. Still nearer to Paris are the forests of Sénart, of Armainvilliers, and of Crécy, in Brie, to the south-east; and of Rambouillet to the south-west. North-west of the capital, the forest of St. Germain is the starting-point for two chains of great forests. One of them extends in more or less compact blocks as far as the mouth of the Seine, keeping generally on the left bank in the great loops formed by the meanderings of that winding river, and joins on to the forests of Upper Normandy (department of Seine Inférieure). The other commands, as far as Laon, the left bank of the Oise and of the Aisne (the forests of Montmorency, Chantilly, Ermenonville; the magnificent forests of Compiègne and of Villers-Cotterets; the block of Coucy and St. Gobain). Between the Seine and the Loire, the hills of Perche and Normandy are clothed with splendid forest-trees and picturesque foliage-masses. On the Loire, the forest of Orléans, to the north, is the largest isolated forest in France; while, to the south, the pine-covered Sologne forms with the great forests of Touraine a chain which only stops in the neighbourhood of Saumur, towards Fontévrault, where are to be seen the tombs of the French kings of

England. In the same way a chain of great woods stretches across the department of Charente, between Deux Sèvres and Charente Inférieure, from the confines of Périgord to the Vendean Marsh. Périgord has numerous woods, but no great forests. Between the Allier and the Creuse, and on both banks of the Cher and the Indre, the forests of Bourbonnais and of Berry mark out a green girdle round the Central Plateau on the north. As to the Plateau itself, though it can boast of the fine chestnut woods of Limousin and of Périgord, the fir woods of Cantal, of the Monts du Forez, and of Margeride, etc., it is for the most part bare. But for magnificence of vegetation, nothing equals the chestnut groves of its southern slope, particularly those of the Ardèche Cévennes. South of the Garonne extends the vast forest-region of the Landes of Gascony, covered with pinasters, which are tapped to extract the resin. These pinasters, beginning, as we said,* in the Island of Oleron, clothe the dunes of the Arvert peninsula, cross the Gironde, and extend southwards to a little beyond the mouth of the Adour. On the east they come near to Agén. North of the Dordogne they cover the district called the Double (departments of Dordogne and the two Charentes). The Pyrenees can still show fine forests of beech, fir, and pine, but the trees become more and more thinly scattered as we approach Ariège and the Eastern Pyrenees. In the Alps, which become bare as their summits are approached, the densest forests lie in their outlying ranges of Savoy and Dauphiné—in the Bornes, the Bauges, the Grande Chartreuse, and the Vercors. Corsica is justly famed for the beauty of her forests. The south, north, and west of France are generally clear of forests, as also is the centre. The Garonne basin is green with fruit trees planted in the vineyards. Brittany still possesses here and there compact blocks of woodland, fragments of the

* *Supra*, p. 20.

wonderful forest where rode the knights and ladies of the Round Table—the Broceliande* of the enchanter Merlin. The chief deciduous trees which people the French forests are first and foremost the oak and beech; next, the hornbeam, the chestnut, the maple, the ash, the elm, the wild cherry, the lime, the birch, and white timber generally.† Among evergreen or resinous trees we have the fir, the larch (especially in the Alps), the Norway pine, and several other varieties of pine. The cork-oak is grown in the Landes, and in the department of Var; the Indian date plum in Gard and the Eastern Pyrenees; and the lote-tree in the East. There are still wolves, and too many of them, in the French forests, in spite of all that is done for their extermination; 4,000 of these carnivora were destroyed between 1883 and 1886. 18031

What may be called natural meadow lands are distributed in all parts of France. In the plateaus of the centre and on the mountain slopes there are vast pastures; Brittany is covered with “pâtis” or moors of furze, broom, and heather. Normandy possesses the excellent Bessin meadow-lands (whence comes the Isigny butter), and the splendid grass bottoms of the Auge valley, where cattle are turned out to fatten. Fine meadows carpet also the Bray country, the valleys of the Perche, the Charolles district (whence come the Charollais-Nivernais bulls, which are more highly esteemed even than the Durham breed), Bourbonnais, the triple basin of the Maine (valleys of Mayenne, of Sarthe, and Loir), the plain of Flanders and the Channel coast in general, and the marsh districts

* “A storm was coming, but the winds were still;

And in the wild woods of Broceliande,

Before an oak so hollow, huge, and old,

It looked a tower of ruined mason work,

At Merlin’s feet the wily Vivien lay.”—*Tennyson*.

† “Bois blanc” is the generic term for woods of inferior quality, such as poplar, aspen, willow, alder, birch, etc.

(locally called "marais gâts") on the borders of the Atlantic coast. "Artificial" meadows of clover, lucern, sainfoin, &c., grow freely in all parts of the country. This diversity and this abundance of pasturage give a great variety to the valuable cheese industry.

The cultivation of the vine is one of the greatest sources of natural wealth in France; it is the glory of the south. In spite of the destructive phylloxera, coming, as it did, on the top of the oidium and so many other maladies, the French vineyard, still the greatest in the world, is still distributed over 4,800,000 acres (1887)—that is, in every part of France except in the north and the north-west. A straight line drawn from Vannes (department of Morbihan) to Mezières (department of Ardennes) would about mark its northern limit; but the departments crossed by or adjoining to this line, and a few others lying on the Central Plateau (the departments of Haute Vienne, Creuse, Cantal, Lozère) or in the mountains—twenty out of seventy-seven—take a very insignificant part in French vine-growing. In every part of France, moreover, the vine is to be seen grown on trellises, but we are now speaking only of vineyards. The French wines are the most refined and most delicate in the whole world. Six groups may be distinguished from one another: 1, Bordeaux (the largest yields of which come from Médoc); 2, Burgundy; 3, Sparkling Champagne; 4, the wine of the Charentes departments, which used to produce the Cognac brandy (the finest yields of Cognac are called Champagne); 5, the wines of the south, which are used in the trade for mixing with and fortifying other wines; and 6, wines of the centre (from Auvergne to Saumur). Cider, perry, and beer are more and more drunk everywhere, except in the south. Cider, like wine, has its famous growths; those of the pays d'Auge and of Bessin (department of Calvados in Normandy), have the highest reputation.

France imports oranges, lemons, and dates, fruits which its trees in the south produce, indeed, but do not bring to perfection. On the other hand she exports in considerable quantities, principally to England, her orchard produce—tree-fruit, fresh or dried, Brignoles plums from Provence, Agen plums from the department of Lot-et-Garonne, Tours prunes, Montreuil peaches, preserved apricots from Auvergne and the districts of Agen, Lyons, &c., almonds, nuts, figs, olives from Languedoc and Provence. The climate of the Mediterranean slope is warm enough for the olive, which is grown in twelve departments (the olive trees of Provence and of Languedoc furnishing the best oil in the world), and even the orange and the palm flourish in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, and in the districts between Hyères and Toulon, and Cannes and Mentone. As to the mulberry, whose leaves are the food of the silk-worm, it grows in 24 departments of the Rhône or Garonne basins, which devote themselves to sericulture for the great Lyons industry. In 1886 the production of cocoons amounted to 8,138 tons. Of all the countries of Europe, France is that which presents the greatest diversity in its leading agricultural products, and these products are ever on the increase, although the number of cultivators is diminishing.

III.—THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

The census of the French population is taken every five years. According to the census of May 30, 1886, the number of inhabitants was 38,218,903. The annual increase of the population had been 153,250 during the five years from 1876 to 1881. In the years between 1881 and 1886 the annual excess had fallen to 121,523. From 1880 to 1885 the annual increase of the population in Germany was 323,678. This slight increase of population

is not distributed equally all over the country. The lands which, as far as agriculture is concerned, are poor (the Central Plateau, Brittany, and Vendée) are the most fertile in men; in the rich regions of Normandy, of Maine, of the Garonne valley, and of the south-west in general, the human plant gives but scanty crops.

In or about 1840 three-fourths of the population lived in the country communes. But, as in other European states, the country districts are unceasingly drained of their inhabitants for the benefit of the towns. The urban population, which in 1843 was 24 per cent. of the total population of France, has now risen to 35 per cent. It is chiefly the industrial districts and the great centres which have benefited by the total increase of the population. Thus from 1881 to 1886 the increase of communities with more than 30,000 inhabitants represents 57 per cent. of the increase in all France. This movement of concentration appears, however, to be slackening; Paris, which had increased its population by no less than 280,217 between 1876 and 1881, only gained 75,527 from 1881 to 1886. Its population, of which, moreover, a third part only was born in the city itself, evinces a more and more strongly-marked tendency to spread itself out in the surrounding country, in order thus to be able to share in the advantages offered by the neighbourhood of the city without supporting the corresponding burdens. The Parisian agglomeration covers an increasingly larger surface; and its twenty-one miles of enclosing ramparts no longer contain it within their circumference. Beyond the walls and the capital, which cover 19,278 acres, it incorporates suburban communes like St. Denis (48,009 inhab.), Levallois-Perret (35,649 inhab.), Boulogne (30,084 inhab.), &c. It crosses the boundaries of its department (Seine), and at various points to the east and north even extends beyond the Outer-Circle Railway (Chemin-de-fer de Grande Ceinture), which is seventy-five

miles long. The total area covered by the fire from the new zone of forts amounts to 226,110 acres. Paris with its outer suburbs contains one-thirteenth of the total population of France.

France possesses eleven towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants, fifty of more than 30,000 (for the great agglomerations of houses which form the suburbs of Paris cannot be regarded as distinct towns, to which are added five towns of Algeria and of Tunis. A list of these towns will be found in Table A, at the end of this chapter.

The population of France, which is much more stationary than that of most other European countries—Russia, Germany, and England in particular—has increased at the extremely varying rates indicated in the table given at the end of the chapter (*see* Table B). It will be noticed, on referring to the tables at the end of this chapter, that the number of inhabitants at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 was one-third less than the present population.

It will be seen from Table B that France has not yet regained the number of inhabitants she possessed in 1870, before the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. To the figures of 1886 may, however, be added the population of the departments of Algeria (3,910,400), which are, as it were, the prolongation of continental France, and if we go so far as to add Tunis (2,100,000), we get a TOTAL POPULATION of the French Republic of 44,230,000 inhabitants. But we are only speaking of the continental territory at present. Algeria and Tunis will have a chapter to themselves.

The movement of the population—births, marriages, and deaths—is set out in table C.

The number of births per marriage (3), is less than in England (3·91), Prussia (4·14), or Russia (4·68).

The returns bring out the excess of births over deaths. We give those returns from 1872 for the last fourteen years (*see* Table D).

The detailed figures for the two last years show how these numbers are made up (*see* Table E).

But the whole surplus of births, to which must be added foreign immigration,* does not appear in the shape of increased population. A portion is lost by emigration.

The Frenchman emigrates but little. That is true, though less so than is supposed. He is attached to his native soil, and he has good reasons for his attachment. Is not France "the finest kingdom after the kingdom of Heaven"? The foreigners who come and settle down in it in such large numbers give their tacit confirmation to the ancient renown of this favoured land, the splendid future of which was prophesied by Strabo as early as the days of the barbarian Gauls, and which was sung by the epics of the middle ages in accents of filial tenderness under the name of "sweet France." The German proverb well-nigh identifies it with Paradise: "*Er lebt wie der Herr Gott in Frankreich*" ("He lives like God Almighty in France"). Why should a Frenchman abandon the soil which nourishes as it has nourished his fathers before him?

"C'est la cendre des morts qui créa la patrie." †

Now those ashes are always fruitful, and the Frenchman, inverting a vulgar and barbarous adage, can say, "*ubi patria, ibi bene*" ("where the Fatherland is, there one is well off"). Of every four Frenchmen, two live by the soil, and one only is an artisan, operative, or workman.

Nevertheless, about 20,000 emigrants leave France annually for Algeria, La Plata (the Argentine Republic and

* In 1886 the *foreigners* in France were reckoned at 1,126,531, or three foreigners for every hundred inhabitants. Paris and the frontier departments have the largest share of them. This foreign immigration grows from year to year. The proportion of the total foreign population in France supplied by the different nationalities is shown in Table F.

† The Fatherland was created by the ashes of the dead.

Uruguay), the United States and Canada. Southern Frenchmen from Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, Garonne—vine-growers who have been ruined by the phylloxera—go, by preference, to Algeria and Tunis, where they have rapidly built up a North African wine-industry. The vine, attacked on the Gallic soil by the American insect, flourishes once more, thanks to their assiduous care, on the virgin soil of French Africa. These men emigrate, it is true, but they do not quit the Fatherland. Frenchmen from the south-west, from the Basque country, Béarn, the Pyrenees, and Gascony go by preference to La Plata; formerly they returned to the old country after they had made fortunes; now they settle down for good, and a race of French colonists own them for fathers. In 1882 the Argentine Republic had a population of 153,000 Frenchmen, and in 1880 Uruguay had 14,375. Since then French emigration to that quarter has increased. In two years (1884–85) 9,500 French arrived in Buenos Ayres. The total number of Frenchmen settled on the two banks, and generally in the basin of the Rio de la Plata, is put at several hundred thousands. Other Frenchmen are scattered, in smaller numbers, throughout the different countries of South America, in the Spanish Antilles, and in Mexico (where there are 15,000 of them). Others are lost in the United States and in the old French colony of Louisiana, disappearing in that cosmopolitan population, or else go to reinforce the young and vigorous colony of French Canadians in the Dominion. In 1880 the United States census returned 106,971 “born in France,” without professing to include those Frenchmen born elsewhere.

Other countries over-seas, Oceania, and French Indo-China, receive their contingents of French emigrants; so, lastly, do the frontier countries of Spain (17,657 French in 1877), Italy (10,781 in 1881), Switzerland (58,992 in 1880), Luxembourg (1,313 in 1885), Belgium (51,104 in 1880),

and a considerable number to England *—all in fact, except Germany.† The north, the west, and the centre of France hardly emigrate at all ; far from swarming off abroad, they tend to concentrate on Paris. However, the Frenchman looks beyond the sea more and more. A French colonisation society, recently founded, had received up to November, 1886, 27,496 requests for free passages to the French colonies, to New Caledonia, to Madagascar, to Tonquin, to Tahiti, and to the Congo. The emigrant from rural France is a valued colonist. His resolute will and good right arm make him the modest rival of the comrades of Champlain and of Montcalm, of Cavelier de la Salle and Dupleix, and also of those involuntary emigrants, the "refugees" of the Edict of Nantes, whose talents and virtues Prussia, Holland, and England to this day celebrate.

This undauntedness, this joyous manliness, this impetuosity, and this good humour—all qualities as little subject to despondency as they are to timidity—this jollity, in a word, is one of the characteristics of the French race which make it most popular abroad. In his own country the Frenchman is distinguished among all the nations which surround him by an affable kindness. He is hospitable towards all men, even towards his enemies.‡ Merry, good-tempered, gay as the sun which gilds his harvest and ripens the grapes upon his slopes, frank and open as the bright air he breathes, he seduces by the brilliant qualities of an easy wit, he pleases by his mobile and smiling physiognomy, by the unconstrained frankness of his manner, by his light, easy carriage, the balance and proportion of his physique, by his bodily

* There is no return showing the exact number of French immigrants into England.

† 17,273 French immigrants into Germany were returned for 1886, but this figure is only reached by including 13,906 French Alsatians.

‡ In 1886 foreign householders to the number of 3,167 were relieved by the boards of charity in Paris ; of these 40 per cent. were Germans.

address and agility, which are more remarkable than his strength. He charms by his kindness, his sociability, his good sense, and naturalness, by the liveliness and point of his conversation, by his power of quick assimilation, which exceeds his originaive faculty, and by his respect for other men's opinions, which is sometimes greater than the independence of his own. Just as his turn of mind is gay and "Gallic," without being gross, so his frame is wiry and muscular rather than fleshy, his bones are small, his height medium, and his figure good. He seldom possesses the aristocratic elegance and patrician delicacy of mould which is often accompanied by a slender make; but, on the other hand, he is, as a rule, free from the gross stoutness which obscures and thickens the outlines of face and figure, as well as from the awkwardness and vulgarity of a big-boned structure. In his case distinction is the product of balance, taste, and measure, above all things. And, if he calls forth an involuntary sympathy by the combination of these physical and moral qualities which every eye can see, he retains it by the charm of his company. The kindness of his hearty welcome only reflects his generosity of nature. A hard worker, at once *naïve* and shrewd, he lives like a good farmer, thriftily and yet merrily. He is temperate, provident, but unambitious, less limited, perhaps, in his capacities than in his desires, full of tact and discretion, and seems to have taken to heart Madame de Maintenon's advice to her brother: "And for the rest let us keep our spirits up." His family affections, his respect for the dead, his love of work and of the domestic hearth, are as strong in him, if indeed they are not stronger, than in the men of any other race. He loves his children almost to the point of weakness, and only with a view to settling them in life can he bring himself to part from them. The Frenchwoman, inferior in brilliancy of beauty to the women of some other races, yields the palm to none in

elegance and in grace, "more beautiful than beauty." The refined good looks of the Frenchwoman make her one of the types of her sex most admired by men throughout the world.

As a social being the Frenchman is passionately enamoured of equality. He is a democrat, and a democrat in this sense, that every superiority galls, and every exception annoys him. He thereby demonstrates on his own account the truth of the aphorism that the tendency of every popular State is towards mediocrity. He has but little sense of governmental necessities, little understanding of public liberties and the obligations they impose, and his political manners and morals are still rudimentary. He does not readily concern himself with political institutions, the working of which he has difficulty in understanding, and from which alone he no longer expects the improvement of his lot. These political forms, which were set up in imitation of the foreigner, and which, though not yet naturalised, hold the place of honour in his own country, remain a tool which he cannot skilfully employ, an importation badly adapted to his nature, and which he assimilates but slowly. A century of revolutions, of far-reaching hopes deceived, and of efforts often barren, have made him somewhat sceptical, and his political creed is nearly summed up in the light satire or the phrase: "The more change, the less difference" (*"plus cela change, et plus c'est la même chose."*)

Of all nations, France is the one which perhaps least possesses the government it deserves. The French mind, whether left to its own native qualities, and to all the flavour of the soil, or fertilised by high culture, whether we examine it in the ignorant peasant or in the masterpieces of literature and art, is made up, first and foremost, of order, clearness, and proportion. If the Frenchman often does not see so far as some people, at least he sees more clearly. The system and method which govern all his

Ideas impress themselves with sovereign power on the thinkers of other lands. It is these qualities of form, qualities which one may call architectural, which have made famous throughout the world the style of Calvin, Descartes, La Fontaine, Pascal, and Voltaire. The logic proper to this type of mind inclines the Frenchman, in politics, to radical solutions and to uniform measures. That which makes the Frenchman's strength in the world of thought is that which makes his weakness in the infinitely various applications of practical life. He no longer says, it is true, "One faith, one law, one king;" but, if the principle has varied from one century to another, he has gone on believing, notwithstanding, in the dogma of unity. At bottom this is the most definite of his religious feelings; for, it must be owned, this balanced type of mind, which finds its strength in that very balance, this nature, made up of the mean of so many qualities, is in some respects wanting in ideality. The Frenchman is little or nothing of a dreamer, and indulges in no flights towards the misty regions of the Beyond. He is of the earth, though not earthy; and practical, though not materialist. He has not the gift possessed by some men of allying with the most positive turn of mind the most abstract idealism. He never loses his foothold, less because he distrusts his wings than owing to his instinctive perception of all that there remains to know in the region of the knowable. He feels vaguely that all efforts towards the "unknowable" would mean so much power the less directed to the ends of science, towards the goals which divine reason has placed within his reach.

There is, perhaps, no more rationalistic people. Yet the Frenchman escapes at once the aridity of pure reason and the selfishness of instinct by the sweetness of his imagination, the delicacy of his soul, and the humanity of his feelings. No people has realised more vividly than that of France the duties which human brother-

hood imposes upon all men, or has laboured more ardently to draw societies together, to destroy privileges, to abolish race and class hatreds, to bring about the triumph of liberty of conscience and of the spirit of toleration, or to assert and apply the "rights of man and of the citizen." Here again is shown the wide kindliness which is the essence of the French genius. Whether examined in the great Frenchmen who are, as it were, the standard-bearers of a nation, or in the history of France, this genius is essentially human.

The Frenchman is accused of lightness, and from that charge he would not find it easy to defend himself. But this time-honoured reproach is less crushing than some people would like to think. Even in his day Richelieu gives it an apt answer. "It is not with France as with other countries. In France the best possible remedy is patience." This lightness carries its own remedy with it, for if it often hurls us down frightful precipices, it does not leave us there, "but extricates us so quickly that our enemies, unable adequately to provide for such frequent variations, have not the time to take advantage of our faults." These phenomena of recovery, almost of resurrection, after a catastrophe or a period of decline, reveal what sap and what vitality persist at the bottom of the French character.

IV.—TERRITORIAL FORMATION OF FRANCE.

LITTLE FRANCES OVER-SEAS.

France is only about five-sixths of the territory occupied by ancient Gaul. Belgium, Switzerland, and Luxembourg, with parts of Germany and Holland, were included in ancient Gaul, the frontier being the Rhine. The ancient inhabitants have left their traces in caverns, and in the great monuments of unhewn stone, or megaliths (*dolmens*, *covered ways*, *peulvans* or *menhirs*, *cromlechs*, *galgals*) found in such numbers in Brittany, indeed all over the west and on the

Central Plateau. The Celtic or Gallic period has also left in various parts of the country fortresses (*oppida*), built of stone put together without mortar, while to the period of the Roman conquest are due the numerous "Caesar's camps," to which were added later on precious artistic monuments such as temples, gates, bridges, theatres, city walls, amphitheatres, baths, aqueducts, and milestones. The museum at St. Germain-en-Laye, among others, preserves the pre-historic, Celtic, and Gallo-Roman relics of these distant ages. Colonised on the Mediterranean coast by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks; conquered (154-52 B.C.) by the Romans, who were destined to give it their language and their civilisation; invaded successively by all the barbarian hordes from beyond the Rhine (from 113 B.C. onwards, and especially in the fifth century), and later by the Mussulmans of Spain (eighth century), and by the Normans (ninth century); gathered into a powerful empire by Charlemagne (800), the Gaul of the ancient Celts was still known under the name of Gaul towards the end of the Carlovingian period (tenth century). At the time of the dismemberment of the empire into feudal fiefs (from A.D. 819 to 1103) the predominance of the province called "Isle of France" over the other great fiefs, and of the Dukes of France and Counts of Paris over other dukes, counts, and lords, gave the country its name of France, and led to the gradual extension of that name over the entire territory.

The territorial reconstitution of the country by the King of Paris was effected bit by bit from the end of the twelfth century (under Philip Augustus) to the middle of the eighteenth; but it was not till the second half of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Louis XI., that this unifying movement began to advance rapidly. Alsace has been re-united to France since 1648, and Lorraine since 1766. These two provinces were conquered by Germany in

1870-71 (Lorraine in part only). But France, though curtailed by her defeat, has notwithstanding preserved her powerful organic unity. And German science when it published in its most authoritative geographical review (*Petermann's Mittheilungen*, Gotha, 1871) a map of France, which showed that country dismembered into six "governments, with Paris, Tours, Lyons, Strasbourg, Nancy, and Reims as capitals, only gave the measure of its taste and its cupidity.

The political frontiers of France and the frontiers of the French language by no means correspond. National union has not been brought about in this country in the name of race (there are indeed no distinct races in Europe) nor in the name of language either. Outside France about ten millions of men speak French. Of these about four millions and a half are in Europe (350,000 in Alsace-Lorraine, 630,000 in Switzerland, 140,000 in the Piedmontese and Waldensian valleys of the Italian Alps, 3,400,000 in the Walloon country—Walloon Belgium, Rhenish Prussia (11,000*), and Luxembourg—and a considerable number in the Channel Islands). It will be observed that the highest frontier-chains separate the French nation from those which resemble her most in language, manners, and origin; while, by a remarkable contrast, low mountain-ranges or even plateaus and plains form the boundaries between France and the Germanic peoples.

Outside Europe, over and above the French colonies,

* The capital of Prussian Wallonia, incorporated with Rhenish Prussia ever since 1815, is Malmédy. "The part of the Walloon country," wrote R. Boeckh, a Prussian statistician, in 1869, "thus incorporated with the Prussian State, consists of about 3,000 geographical square miles, and contains 84 inhabited places and 10,000 inhabitants. Of that number 800 only speak German." Further, there are in Germany ancient French colonies dating from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; *Friedrichsdorf*, for instance, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, is a village of Picard refugees still containing 800 French.

where French, as the official language, the language of the schools and of business, is of course more or less spoken, or will be spoken, it is also the mother tongue of little Frances over-seas. Such are, in Africa, the English colony of Mauritius (once the Île de France, the island of Paul and Virginia) with its dependencies, the Seychelles, &c.—French lands under British rule. Such, too, on the American continent, is the Province of Lower or French Canada; whose population ever increasing by its own fertility, numbers 1,500,000 French-speaking Canadians and Acadians. The census of 1881, which is already out of date, gave a French-speaking population of 1,073,820 in Lower Canada; 56,635 in New Brunswick; 41,219 in Nova Scotia; 10,751 in Prince Edward's Island; 102,743 in Ontario; 9,949 in Manitoba (where French is used officially by the side of English, as it is in the Federal Parliament at Ottawa); 2,896 in the North-west; 916 in British Columbia: a total of 1,298,929, or 30 per cent. of the total population of the Dominion. To these must be added the 700,000 French Canadians who have left Canada for the United States, and settled in New England. We have a similar case, in this same American Republic, in the State of Louisiana, the 200,000 inhabitants of which—at New Orleans, and scattered about the rest of the country—recall by the Creole-French they speak the fact that the Mississippi, like the Canadian North-west and the Rocky Mountains, was discovered and explored by Frenchmen. In the Antilles, also, the black Republic of Hayti (800,000 inhabitants), several of the eastern districts of Cuba, and British islands such as Dominique, Trinidad, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada use a childish Creole-French. The British flag covers, it will be seen, a great number of subjects who are French by origin or speech. To these little Frances, whose roots are in the past, must finally be added the recent colonies of French emigrants in foreign

lands—chiefly in such Spanish-speaking countries as La Plata and other states of South or Central America—in order to get a complete picture of “Greater France.”

On the other hand, there are in France Frenchmen who are so as far as their nationality is concerned, but whose mother-tongue is not French, and who do not habitually speak it. About 150,000 of the population of Northern France speak Flemish (in and about Dunkirk and Hazebrouck), one of the two languages of neighbouring Belgium; and 679,700 inhabitants of the Brittany peninsula (department of Finistère and the western half of the Côtes du Nord, and of Morbihan) only understand Breton, which is a Celtic dialect, like Irish, Welsh, and Gaëlic; 663,000 others understand both Breton and French; and 18,400 Breton-speaking Bretons are grouped in little colonies on various points of French territory outside Brittany. This makes a grand total of 1,340,700 Frenchmen speaking Breton in one of its four forms or dialects of Trégorien (Tréguier dialect), Léonard (Léon dialect), Cornouaillais (dialect of Cornouaille), and Vannetais (dialect of Vannes). In the southwest, 120,000 inhabitants of the Lower Pyrenees, supported by the Basques of Spain, speak the old Basque tongue, which is divided, in France, into the dialects of Soule, Labourd, and Lower Navarre. The inhabitants of the Eastern Pyrenees and of some of the villages in Aude speak Catalan, a Languedoc dialect especially widely diffused in Spain. The Corsicans, finally, speak an Italian dialect. But all these little local idioms, having no literature, are daily dying out, and losing ground everywhere before the great language of the Fatherland. The fusion of all provincial peculiarities is actively going on, and by its means the unification (ever more powerful) of the French Fatherland.

Dimensions of France (European Isthmus between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean) in Miles.

- From North to South, 606.
- From West to East, 556.
- From the Seine Bay to the mouths of the Rhône, 467.
- From Havre to Marseilles, 500.
- From St. Nazaire to Marseilles, 463.
- From Bordeaux to Marseilles, 313.
- Width of the Isthmus of Gascony, 234.
- From La Rochelle to Geneva, 350.
- From the Breton promontories near Brest to the bridge of St. Louis on the Italian frontier, beyond Nice, 675.

On the French continent the maximum difference of time between the eastern frontier and the western coast is 50 minutes. It is 58 minutes or one hour between Ushant and Corsica.

The difference of time between Paris and London is 9 min. 22 sec. When it is noon at Paris, it is 11 hr. 50 min. 38 sec. at London, 11 hr. 37 min. 56 sec. at Edinburgh, and 11 hr. 25 min. 18 sec. at Dublin.

The Meridian of Greenwich is $2^{\circ} 20' 15''$ W. of Paris.

SUPERFICIES OF FRANCE.

France is $\frac{1}{15}$ of the land surface of the earth; $\frac{1}{15}$ of Europe. Continental France is 202,298 square miles; the islands are 3,686 square miles. Total: 205,984 square miles, of which total 531 are lakes.

Frontiers: Eastern, 1,000 miles; southern, 356 miles. Coast: 1,950 miles (North Sea and Channel, 700; the Atlantic, 866; the Mediterranean, 384).

FRENCH ISLANDS.

Corsica ...	3,422 sq. miles.	Hyères ...	10 sq. miles.
Oleron ...	66 „	Yeu ...	9 „
Belle Île ...	35 „	Ushant ...	6 „
Ré ...	33 „	Groix ...	5½ „
Noirmoutier ...	23 „	Îles de Lérins ...	—

MOUNTAINS.

THE ALPS.

Alps of Savoy.

<i>Summits (from N. to S.)</i>	<i>Passes (from N. to S.) and inhabited places.</i>
Mont Blanc (highest European summit) 15,781 feet.	<i>Col des Montets</i> † ... 4,741 feet.
Mont Pourri ... 12,431 "	<i>Col du Petit St. Ber-</i>
La Vanoise (Grande	<i>nard</i> , 7,191 or 7,076 "
Casse) ... 12,667 "	<i>Mont Cenis</i> , 6,883 or 6,831 "
Trois Ellions ... 11,529 "	FREJUS TUNNEL
Salève ... 4,524 "	(railway) ... 4,380 "
Semnoz* ... 5,591 "	<i>Col de Mégève</i> ... 3,677 "

Alps of Dauphiné.

Grandes Rousses ...	11,395 feet.	Col de l'Echelle (the lowest pass on the axis of the Alps) ...	5,873 feet.
Meije, or Aiguille du Midi ...	13,081 „	<i>Mont Genève</i> , ...	6,066 or 6,082 „
Pelvoux (Barre des Ecrins) ...	13,461 „	Town of Briançon ...	4,334 „
Grande Chartreuse ...	6,847 „	Village of St. Vêran ...	6,594 „
Vercors ...	7,697 „	<i>Lautaret</i> ...	6,808 „
Dévoluy ...	9,163 „	<i>Col Bayard</i> ...	4,088 „

Alps of Provence.

Pelat ...	10,016 feet.	<i>Col de Larche</i> or <i>l'Argentière</i> ...	6,545 feet.
Ventoux ...	6,273 „	<i>Col de Tende</i> (Italy) ...	6,151 „
Ste. Baume ...	3,786 „		
Maures ...	2,555 „		
Estérel ...	2,021 „		
Agel ...	3,766 „		

* The names printed farther towards the left of the page than the rest are those of summits which do not belong to the main Alpine chain, but to outlying ranges of the Alpine region.

† Names of passes are printed in italics when they are practicable for wheeled vehicles; the rest are only crossed by mule paths.

THE PYRENEES.

<i>Summits (from W. to E.).</i>		<i>Passes (from W. to E.).</i>	
La Rhune or Larrun	2,953 feet.	<i>Port de Velate (Spain)</i>	2,756 feet.
Pic d'Anie	8,215 "	<i>Port de Roncevaux</i>	
Pic du Midi d'Ossau	9,465 "	(Spain)	3,609 "
Balaïtous, 10,321 or 10,417	"	<i>Somport</i>	5,381 "
Vignemale (highest		Port de Gavarnie ...	7,483 "
peak of the French		Brèche de Roland ...	9,200 "
Pyrenees)... ..	10,820 "	Port de Salau ...	6,732 "
Cirque of Gavarnie	5,381 "	<i>Col de Puymorens,</i>	
Pic du Midi of Bigorre	9,439 "	6,335 or 6,292 "	
Maladetta (Spain) ...	11,168 "	<i>La Quillane...</i> ...	5,643 "
Montcalm	10,105 "	<i>Col de la Perche</i> ...	5,321 "
Puy de Carlitte	10,203 "	<i>Pérthus</i>	951 "
Canigou	9,137 "	Town of Montlouis...	5,292 "

CENTRAL PLATEAU AND CÉVENNES.

Mountains of Auvergne.	{	Puy de Sancy (Mt. Dore)	6,187 feet.
	{	Puy de Dôme (Mts. Dôme)	4,806 "
	{	Plomb du Cantal (Mts. du Cantal) ...	6,095 "
Monts du Forez	{	Pierre sur Haute	6,095 "
	{	Pilat (Crêt de la Perdrix)	4,705 "
Cévennes ...	{	Mézène... ..	5,755 "
	{	Gerbier de Jonc (Source of the Loire)	5,088 "
	{	Lozère	5,584 "
	{	Aigoual... ..	5,141 "
	{	Pic de Nore (Montagne Noire) ...	3,970 "

OTHER RANGES.

Limousin ...	Plateau of Mille Vaches (Mont Besson)	3,215 feet.
Morvan ...	Haut Folin	2,958 "
Jura ...	Crêt de la Neige	5,652 "
Vosges ...	Ballon de Guebwiller (Alsace) ...	4,678 "
Corsica ...	Cinto	8,891 "
	<i>Col de Vizzavone</i>	3,812 "

CHIEF MAIN STREAMS OF THE FRENCH BASINS.

Name of Stream.	Length of Course in Miles.	Superficies of Basin in Square Miles.	Volume Discharged per Second in Cubic Yards.	Height of Source above the Sea in Feet.
Rhine... ..	714	7,569	2,505	814 (At Bâle)
Meuse... ..	594 (281 in France)	12,741 (3,236 in France)	131 (At the point where it leaves France)	1,342
Loire	547 or 637	46,754	1,288	4,505
Rhône... ..	450 or 507	38,180	2,616 to 2,878 (719 to 19,600)	5,753
Seine	428 or 485	30,027	785	1,545
Gironde ...	346 or 359	32,746	1,439	6,142
Adour... ..	187	6,572	196	?
Charente ...	232	3,862	46	?
Vilaine ...	142	4,202	105	502
Somme ...	153	2,135	55	?

CHIEF FRENCH LAKES.

Name of Lake.	Superficies in square miles.	Height above the sea.	Depth.
Leman	221	1,230 ft.	1,096 feet.
Savoie ... { Lake of Bourget	16 to 18	771 "	328 "
{ Lake of Annecy	9½ to 12½	1,453 "	203 "
{ Lake of Aiguebelette	1½ to 2	1,233 "	164 "
Dauphiné { Lake of Paladru (Isère)	1½ to 2	1,621 "	98 "
{ Lake of Saint Point (Doubs)	1½	2,792 "	?
Jura ... { Lake of Nantua (Ain)	¾ths.	1,558 "	147 "
{ Lake of Châlin (Jura)	1½ths.	1,640 "	?
(Loire Inferieure) { Lake of Grand-lieu	14	3 "	5 "

CHIEF TRIBUTARY RIVERS OF THE FRENCH BASINS.*

Name of River.		Length of Course in Miles.	Superficies of the Basin in Square Miles.	Volume Discharged per Second in Cubic Yards.†	Height of Confluence with Main Stream above the Level of the Sea in Feet.
Rhine Basin	Moselle... ..	321 (128 in France)	10,950 (3,509 in France)	327	180
	(Meurthe)	103 to 106	1,124	33	623
	Aube	155	1,782	26 to 33	230
Seine Basin	Yonne	183	4,203	98	164
	Marne	328	4,896	78	98
	Oise	187	6,435	131	72
	(Aisne)... ..	170	2,993	59	115
	Eure	141	2,124	13 to 15	33
Loire Basin	Allier	256	5,574	85	564
	Cher	219	5,174	59	128
	Vienne	219	8,288	91	98
	Mayenne	141	2,274	33	46
	Sarthe	178	2,276	33	
Gironde Basin	Loir	200 to 203	2,809	33	
	Ariège	102	1,490	52	456
	Tarn	235	5,734	157	180
	(Aveyron)	170	2,075	33	223
	Lot	291	4,345	131	72
	Dordogne	295	9,216	392	0
	(Vézère)	120	1,453	33	157
	(Isle)	147 to 150	2,905	52	0
	Ain	119	1,615	65	620
	Saône	285	11,421	(20 to 3,270) 327	531
Torrential Rhône Basin	(Doubs)	268	3,022	(29 to 5,232) 131	577
	Isère	181	4,687	(33 to 1,308) 555	351
	Drôme	66	670	(150 to 6,540) 20	305
	Ardeche	70	922	(6 to 10,464) 26	131
	Durance	219	5,811	(103 to 458) (52 to 11,772)	170

* The names of the sub-tributaries—tributaries of tributaries—are in brackets.

† The figures in small type in this column indicate the minimum volume discharged in drought, and the maximum volume discharged in flood.

TOTAL DISTANCES IN MILES FROM PARIS (8 HOURS
FROM LONDON), BY RAILWAY.

Total mileage of French railways in 1888 ... 21,200.

To the Chief Ports.	On the North Sea.	Dunkirk	... 191.
		Calais ...	... 186 (one hour from Dover); 100 miles from London.
	On the Channel.	Boulogne	... 159 (1½ hours from Folkestone).
		Dieppe	... 126 (4 hours from Newhaven).
		Havre ...	... 142 (8 hours from Southampton; 7 days from New York).
	On the Atlantic.	Cherbourg	... 232 (5 hours from Weymouth).
		Brest ...	... 381.
		St. Nazaire	... 281 (20 days from Colon).
		La Rochelle	... 302 or 298.
		Bordeaux	... 361 (25 days from Buenos Ayres; 23 days from Colon).
To the Continental Frontiers.	On the Mediterranean.	Bayonne	... 490.
		Cette ...	... 543.
		Marseilles	... 539 (26 hours from Algiers; 14 from Ajaccio; 5 days from Port Said; 7 from Constantinople; 42 from Sydney; 45 from Yokohama).
		Toulon	... 581.
		Nice ...	... 680, or 19 hours. To the Italian frontier, 695; Genoa, 796; Florence, 949; Rome, 1,108; Naples, 1,270.
	N.E. ...	The Frontier ...	144. To Brussels, 194, or 5½ hours; Cologne, 307; Amsterdam, 338, or 12½ hours.
		The Frontier ...	150. To Berlin, 667, or 24 hours; St. Petersburg, 1,725, or 61—56 hours.
		The Frontier ...	213. To Metz, 217; Coblenz, 380; Mayence, 404; Frankfort, 432; Munich, 586; Vienna, 852; or 27 hours; Budapest, 1,023, or 34½ hours; Bucharest, 1,577, or 53 hours; Constantinople, 72 hours.
	E....	The Frontier ...	256. To Strasburg, 314.
		Belfort... ..	277. To Basle, 328; Milan, 577 (virtual distance by St. Gothard, 666)*; Venice, 692; Vienna, 849.

* The virtual distance is the real distance, *plus* the addition necessary to represent the extra work and cost of steaming up inclines. Thus, in this case, the 577 miles, which include many severe gradients, equal 666 miles on the flat.

TOTAL DISTANCES IN MILES FROM PARIS (8 HOURS
FROM LONDON, BY RAILWAY (*continued*).

To the Continental Frontiers.	S.E. ...	Geneva ...	391.	
		The Frontier ...	433	(Mont Cenis Tunnel). To
	S.... ...			Turin, 499; Milan, 590 (virtual distance, 660, or 19½ hours); Rome, 907, or 34 hours; ; Brindisi, 1,177.
	S.W. ...	The Frontier ...	628.	To Barcelona, 734.
		The Frontier ...	511.	To Madrid, 907, or 28 hours; Lisbon, 1,180, or, 44½ hours.

FRENCH TELEGRAPHS IN 1887.

	MILES.
Overhead wires, public and private	63,580
Underground wires	3,879
Submarine cables	3,730

PRINCIPAL MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

	DATE OF OPENING.
First French navigable canal (Briare Canal)	1642
First French railway (St. Étienne to Andrézieux)	1828
First French railway with locomotive, and intended for the transport of human beings (St. Étienne to Lyons)	1832
First Alpine railway tunnel, or Fréjus Tunnel (called Mont Cenis); length, 13,378 yards; height, 4,380 feet; traffic in 1884, 233,500 passengers and 373,500 tons of goods	1871
First submarine cable (Calais to Dover)... ..	1851
First French transatlantic cable (Brest to St. Pierre-Miquelon); length of cable, 3,408 miles	1869
Suez Canal (100 miles long; 63 to 24 yards wide; 26 feet deep; traffic in 1885, 3,624 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 8,085,411, and a net tonnage of 6,335,753)	1869
Panama Canal (46½ miles long, 15½ miles finished by end of 1887)	Excavation begun in 1883
Submarine Channel Tunnel (length, 30 miles from Sangatte to Dover, of which 8½ miles is in preliminary curves, in order to descend to 416 feet below the level of the water, which is 177 feet deep	Projected since 1802

TABLE A.
CITIES WITH MORE THAN 30,000 INHABITANTS IN 1886.

Name and Population.	Geographical Position.	Height above the Level of the Sea.
Paris { 2,344,550, intra muros ... 2,961,089, including the other Com- munes of the Seine department ... 3,241,300, with the Suburbs ... }	On the Seine and the Marne ...	82 to 419 ft.
Lyons (Rhône), 401,980 ...	On the Rhône and the Saône, in Lyonnais ...	530 to 1,017 ft.
Marseilles (Bouches du Rhône) 376,143 ...	On the Mediterranean, in Provence ...	0 to 527 ft.
Bordeaux (Gironde) 240,582 ...	On the tidal Garonne, in Guyenne ...	19 ft.
Lille (Nord), 188,272 ...	In Flanders ...	75 ft.
Toulouse (Haute Garonne), 147,617 ...	On the Garonne, in Languedoc ...	456 ft.
Nantes (Loire Inférieure), 127,482 ...	} On the tidal Loire, the Erdre, and the Sèvre, in Brittany ...	59 ft.
St. Étienne (Loire), 117,875 ...	In Forez (Lyonnais), on the Furens ...	1,771 ft.
Havre (Seine Inférieure), 112,074 ...	On the Channel and the Seine, in Normandy ...	0 to 278 ft.
Rouen (Seine Inférieure), 107,163 ...	On the tidal Seine, in Normandy ...	72 ft.
Roubaix (Nord), 100,299 ...	In Flanders ...	114 ft.
Reims (Marne), 97,903 ...	In Champagne, on the Vesle (trib. of the Aisne) ...	282 ft.
Amiens (Somme), 80,288 ...	On the Somme, in Picardy ...	65 to 118 ft.
Nancy (Meurthe et Moselle), 79,038 ...	In Lorraine, on the Meurthe ...	656 ft.
Nice (Alpes Maritimes), 77,478 ...	On the Mediterranean and the Paillon ...	0 to 177 ft.
Angers (Maine et Loire), 73,044 ...	On the Maine, in Anjou, near the Loire ...	46 to 154 ft.
Brest (Finistère), 70,778 ...	On the Atlantic, in Brittany ...	0 to 134 ft.
Toulon (Var), 70,122 ...	On the Mediterranean, in Provence ...	150 to 373 ft.
Nîmes (Gard), 69,898 ...	In Languedoc ...	941 ft.
Limoges (Haute Vienne), 68,477 ...	On the Vienne, in Limousin ...	177 ft.
Reunnes (Ille et Vilaine), 66,139 ...	In Brittany, on the Vilaine and the Ille ...	807 ft.
Dijon (Côte d'or), 60,855 ...	In Burgundy, on the Ouche ...	378 ft.
Orléans (Loiret), 60,826 ...	On the Loire, in Orléanais ...	161 ft.
Tours (Indre et Loire), 59,585 ...	On the Loire, in Touraine ...	...

Calais (Pas de Calais), 58,969	On the North Sea...	164 ft.
Tourcoing (Nord), 58,008	In Flanders ...	154 to 252 ft.
Le Mans (Sarthe), 57,501	On the Sarthe and the Huise, in Maine	144 ft.
Montpellier (Hérault), 56,765	In Languedoc, on the Lez ...	764 to 1,207 ft.
Besançon (Doubs), 56,511	On the Doubs, in Franche-Comté	698 ft.
Grenoble (Isère), 52,484	On the Isère and the Drac, in Dauphiné	403 ft.
Versailles (Seine et Oise), 49,852	Near Paris, of which it is the Escurial	344 ft.
St. Quentin (Aisne), 47,853	On the Somme, in Picardy ...	360 ft.
Troyes (Aube), 46,972	In Champagne, on the Seine	1,335 ft.
Clermont-Ferrand (Puy de Dôme), 46,718	In Auvergne ...	0 to 100 ft.
Boulogne (Pas de Calais), 45,916	On the Channel, in Picardy ...	29 to 85 ft.
Caen (Calvados), 43,809	In Normandy, on the tidal Orne...	512 ft.
Bourges (Cher), 42,829	In Berry, on the Yèvre	229 ft.
Béziers (Hérault), 42,785	In Languedoc, on the Orb ...	39 to 180 ft.
Avignon (Vaucluse), 41,007	In Comtat, on the Rhône near the Durance	65 ft.
Lorient (Morbihan), 40,055	In Brittany, on the Scorff and the Blavet ...	22 ft.
Dunkirk (Nord), 38,025	On the North Sea, in Flanders ...	—
Cette (Hérault), 37,058	On the Gulf of Lyons, in Languedoc...	387 ft.
Cherbourg (Manche), 37,013	In Normandy, on the Channel	98 to 315 ft.
Poitiers (Vienne), 36,878	In Poitou, on the Clain	102 ft.
Angoulême (Charente), 34,647	In Angoumois, on the Charente...	49 ft.
Perpignan (Pyrénées Orientales), 34,183	In Roussillon, on the Têt ...	177 to 246 ft.
Rochefort (Charente Inférieure), 31,256	On the tidal Charente, in Anis...	679 ft.
Laval (Mayenne), 30,627	In Maine, on the Mayenne ...	78 ft.
Pau (Basses Pyrénées), 30,626	In Béarn, on the Gave...	—
Donai (Nord), 30,030	In Flanders, on the Scarpe...	—
ALGERIA AND TUNIS.		
Tunis, 150,000	Near the Mediterranean	0 to 558 ft.
Algiers, 74,792 (or 107,950 with its 6 Suburbs)	On the Mediterranean ..	0 to 321 ft.
Oran, 67,681	On the Mediterranean ...	1,752 to 2,113 ft.
Constantine, 44,960	On the Roummel ...	0 to 354 ft.
Bône, 29,840	On the Mediterranean and the Seybouse ...	—

TABLE B.
TOTAL POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL FRANCE FROM 1700 TO 1886.

[illegible]

TABLE C.
MOVEMENT OF THE FRENCH POPULATION.

Dates.	Estimate of the Average Population in Millions.	Movement of the Average Population of each period (ooo omitted).			Per 10,000 Inhabitants. Number of			Per 1,000 Births. Number of		Number of Legitimate Births per Marriage.
		Births.	Marriages.	Deaths, not counting still-births.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Illegitimate.	Still-born.	
1781—84	24·8	965	230	917	389	93	370	—	—	—
1801—10	28·9	918	217	798	318	75	276	—	—	4·2
1811—20	29·7	942	234	773	317	79	260	—	—	4
1821—30	31·8	974	247	790	306	78	248	—	—	3·7
1831—40	33·6	967	266	828	288	79	246	—	—	3·3
1841—50	35·3	962	279	817	273	79	232	—	—	3·2
1851—60	36·5	953	287	866	266	79	237	74	42	3
1861—70	38·2	932	301	888	244	79	232	76	45	3
1871—80	36·7	935	295	871	254	80	237	72	46	2·9
1881—85	37·8	935	284	841	249	75	223	78	47	3

TABLE D.
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS (OOO OMITTED).

Year.	Marriages.	Births. (Including Still-Births.)	Deaths. (Including Still-Births.)	Still-Births.	Excess of Births.
1872	353	1,010	837	44	173
1873	321	991	889	44	102
1874	303	999	826	45	173
1875	300	995	889	44	106
1876	291	1,011	879	45	133
1877	278	988	845	43	143
1878	280	981	882	43	98
1879	283	980	884	44	97
1880	279	962	900	42	62
1881	282	981	873	44	108
1882	280	980	883	44	97
1883	285	982	885	44	97
1884	290	983	904	45	79
1885	283	966	881	44	85

TABLE E.
BIRTHS AND DEATHS BY SEX.

	Marriages.	Births.					Still-Births.			Deaths.		
		Legitimate.		Illegitimate		Total.			Total.			Total.
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.		Men.	Women.	
1884	290	440	422	39	37	938	26	19	45	447	412	859
1885	283	436	414	38	36	925	26	18	44	435	402	837

TABLE F.
FOREIGN POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL FRANCE IN 1886.

Belgians	...	...	...	...	...	482,261
Italians	...	...	...	...	...	264,568
Germans	...	...	...	...	...	100,114
Spaniards	...	...	...	...	...	79,550
Swiss ...	...	...	...	...	...	78,584
English	...	...	...	...	...	36,134
Austrians	...	...	...	...	...	12,090
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	73,230
Total	...	...	...	...	...	1,126,531

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS:—Historical Survey : Fundamental characteristics of political development in France ; the *ancien régime*, the Revolution, the 19th Century.—The existing Constitution : universal Suffrage, the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, the National Assembly, Parliamentary Procedure, political parties, freedom of the press, of meeting, and of combination ; the President of the Republic, the ministers and their responsibility.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

AN Englishman who wishes to understand the political institutions of contemporary France should begin by entirely getting rid of certain ways of thinking, certain prejudices, and certain practices which are current in England, but quite unknown to the French people. It has been said over and over again that France borrowed from England some of the outward forms of her constitution, for instance, the arrangement by which the Head of the State is held to be irresponsible, and his ministers responsible—parliamentary government, in a word. This is true up to a certain point ; but if, putting aside externals, we try to get to the bottom of things, we soon see how different the two countries are in everything, and how, if one of them has borrowed some of its institutions from the other, it has at once transformed them in adapting them to its own temperament and national necessities. A rapid glance at the political history of France will enable the

reader better to estimate the origin and tendency of these differences.

One fact dominates this history, and this fact is the exact converse of what happened in England. The *French monarchy*, supported by the communes or the people, asserted itself against the feudal lords, while the English monarchy was limited almost from the very first by the great barons, who thus made themselves the representatives and defenders of popular rights and wishes against absolutism. From this fact flow a number of consequences. France has had nobles, but never an aristocracy ; she has always looked to the central power for the satisfaction of her interests ; she has striven after equality, either civil or political, before even dreaming of liberty, and when liberty came the country showed itself at first indifferent to it, and then unskilful in making use of it.

It is easy to understand why things took that turn in France. Besides the fact that she has been strongly impregnated with the Roman civilisation, and derives from the Latin genius an exaggerated respect for abstract logic, an excessive love of simple principles, and a dangerous passion for uniform solutions, her internal history has been governed by her geographical position. As a continental power continually exposed to the attacks of her neighbours, obliged to struggle for existence successively against English, Spaniards, and Austrians, her first and most imperative need of all has been to insure her national unity, and that could only be done by putting a stop to the state of subdivision to which the country had been reduced by feudalism and to the innumerable intrigues and treasons of the great feudatories. If to these considerations we add the fact that whenever a fief was re-united to the crown, whenever a commune or a domain escaped the authority of a lord, to pass under that of the king, the lot of the population was thereby immediately improved and alleviated, we

shall easily understand the strength of the feeling which impelled the people to turn to the king and look to him for the protection of their interests and the satisfaction of their needs. At first peasants and townsmen alike looked upon him as their natural defender against the nobles. At a later period, when the abuses from which they suffered were the acts of the representatives of the kingly authority, of functionaries appointed by him, the popular faith in the justice and good intentions of the sovereign himself remained rooted in the hearts of his subjects. When there was anything to complain of the common saying was, "If the King knew, things would be different," and people resigned themselves.

From the fourteenth century it was evident that the French monarchy was to be an absolute monarchy, and that France was not to know liberty. The kingly power in fact remained absolute until the Revolution of 1789. One might search in vain through the history of old France for any vestiges of political liberty, any guarantees for the rights of citizens or provinces of the kingdom against the sovereign power. "*L'État c'est moi*," said Louis XIV., and the phrase was an accurate statement of the facts. Doubtless if we went far back up the centuries we might possibly come upon traces of a semblance of political institutions. It was the custom, especially when it was a question of imposing new financial charges on the country, only to do so after consulting representatives of the three orders of the kingdom (the clergy, the nobility, and the *tiers-état*, or middle-class), and the States-General thus constituted made use of the opportunity to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. So also the royal edicts, before they could be carried out, had to be registered by the great courts of justice called Parliaments, and the Parliaments occasionally claimed the right to refuse registration, and to lay remonstrances before the king. But in these misty customs there were no real limitations on the royal

authority. Not only was little attention paid to complaints made by the States-General, but they soon ceased to be convoked, and they met for the last time in 1614. As to the Parliaments, the king ignored their remonstrances by holding a "bed of justice" (*Lit de Justice*), that is to say, a solemn audience in which he imperatively commanded the registration in question. If necessary, magistrates who had protested were exiled.

On the eve of the Revolution (November 17th, 1787), Louis XVI. said to the Parliament at Paris: "The principles to which I wish to recall you involve the essence of the monarchy, and I will not allow them to be ignored or changed." Then the King called up his Master of the Seals (*Garde des Sceaux*) M. de Lamoignon, who formulated these principles in the following terms: "To the King alone belongs the sovereign power in his kingdom; he is responsible for the exercise of his supreme power to God alone; . . . the King is sovereign head of the nation, and he and the nation are one; legislative power resides in the person of the sovereign independent and undivided; . . . in the representatives of the three orders of the state the King could only find a council composed of the chosen members of a family of which he is the head, and only differing from an ordinary council in respect of size; and he would always be the supreme judge of their representations and their complaints." It would therefore be simple loss of time to try to make out which were the fundamental laws of the old monarchy; there was really no other law but the king's good pleasure, and all the writers who have maintained that there was a constitution in France before 1789 have differed in their accounts of it, so uncertain and contradictory were the usages which they took for rules. Public rights were summed up in this saying of Pascal's: "The rights of the people and those of kings never agree so well as when nothing is said about them." It was a case of absolute

power, and the sole principle in the matter which was generally recognised and constantly applied was that of the exclusion of women from the succession to the throne.

This system of government had one advantage, that of allowing France to build up her national unity long before the peoples who surrounded her. On the other hand there were great disadvantages. As we shall have occasion to see when we come to speak of the administrative system, it gave an excessive stimulus to that centralisation which is even now one of the characteristic principles of the French organisation ; further, and this is the point to bear in mind in considering the political life of the country, it created divisions between the classes of society and isolated the nobility from public life.

There were three classes or three "estates" before 1789—the clergy, the nobles, and the "third estate"—and the popular definition of the part played by each class in the state was—"the clergy pray, the nobles fight, and the rest pay." The words are uncompromising, but they give a pretty exact idea of the state of things ; the two first orders were privileged, particularly in regard to the taxes, which they did not pay, and which weighed almost exclusively on the middle class. On the other hand, in order to make the nobles the obedient servants of his will, the king did everything to attract them to his court at Versailles, where he loaded them with honours and military distinctions, and this centripetal tendency went so far that the peasants living on their lords' lands hardly knew their masters except by the feudal duties they had to perform for them. The burdens of the feudal system had been kept, while its benefits, of which the first is the close contact between the lord and his vassals and the patronage, often beneficent, which he exercises over them, had been lost. Chateaubriand has said :—"Aristocracy has three ages, first, the age of force, from which it degenerates into the age of privilege, and is

extinguished finally in the age of vanity." At the end of the eighteenth century the French aristocracy had long since reached the second of these ages, and the popular hatred of the privileges which it enjoyed, and which were no longer justified by corresponding services, was general.

On the eve of the Revolution France had attained her national unity, and all her aspirations were for equality. She was passionately desirous of introducing civil equality into her laws. The king, in whom the country had once put its faith, no longer inspired confidence. When we consider that the looseness and incapacity of the government of Louis XV. had disgusted the nation, while it was wearied of the weakness of Louis XVI., and the repeated failures of his efforts at reform, we shall easily understand alike the high place taken in public opinion by a movement at once literary and philosophical, which ended in the publication of that considerable work—the "Encyclopædia"—in which the greatest writers of the century took their part, and the character to be assumed by the Revolution.

It is always hard to speak of the eighteenth century. It saw so many personages, made acquaintance with so many ideas, conceived so many diverse dreams, that one does not know exactly where to grasp it. There are, however, three names in politics which personify the different systems that then made their way to the surface, and all three of which had a considerable, though very unequal and antagonistic influence on ulterior events and on the development of men's minds. First, that of Montesquieu, who is the father of the historic school in France. He looked for the solutions of political problems in the deeper study of history, and, while systematising, and, consequently, to a certain extent travestying them, made himself the advocate of those English institutions which are so eminently adapted to favour the balance of social forces and the normal progress of freedom. Next, that of Voltaire, the

head of the Encyclopædist movement, who, like everybody else, wished for reform, who aspired to insure to individuals the largest amount of individual liberty, to nations the maximum of imaginable happiness, and whose ideal of government was the dictatorship of an enlightened man, a philosopher-king, something after the fashion of the Prussian government under Frederick the Great. Lastly, that of J. J. Rousseau, who, by birth a Genevese, described Swiss institutions in his "*Contrat Social*," claimed to have found in Natural Law the remedy for all the ills of society, believed in logical and abstract solutions, and gave a new and vigorous impulse to the rationalistic school. Each of these three influences made itself felt in turn, first on the Revolution and next on the nineteenth century. Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau were the fathers of numerous constitutions, and it is only within quite recent years that their authority has been weakened, and that a political organism has been created in France to the exclusive paternity of which no one of the three can lay claim, but which has borrowed some features from each of them.

Under the pressure of inextricable financial difficulties Louis XVI. was obliged in 1789 to resign himself to convoking the States-General. To put some order into his budget, larger sums were needed than he dared levy on his own authority. Further, even he yielded, in some measure, to the passion for reform which had laid hold of public opinion, and was prepared to do away with the greater part of the privileges of the clergy and the nobles. But once assembled, the representatives of the French people were not slow to outrun the limits prescribed for them. They demanded and imposed political reform. They were anxious to guarantee the civil equality, which was their desire, and which it was agreed should be conceded to them, against the return of royal caprice, and to ensure

its final preservation by giving it for sanction the establishment of a real constitution in which the royal authority would henceforth be moderated and restrained by the compulsory co-operation of the representatives of the nation in the administration of public affairs. French history offering no precedent which could be invoked for the foundation of political liberty, men looked to philosophy and Natural Law for the bases of the new edifice which they desired to construct. *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, (August 26—November 3, 1791), is the first step of modern France in the pursuit of political institutions suitable to her new necessities, a pursuit which has been continued through all this century, and which has resulted in the birth and overthrow of fifteen constitutions, all prior to the one which has governed France since 1875.

Within so limited a space there can be no question of tracing in detail the innumerable crises of this history, the sudden reactions which France has undergone since 1789 during her passage from an ill-proportioned political liberty to absolutism, and back once more from absolutism to the temperate liberty which she enjoys at present. A brief sketch will suffice to show the chief stages by which France has reached her present condition.

The seductions of a first experience of political freedom swept the Revolution off its feet, and it was not long in breaking with the Monarchy. Louis XVI. was put to death, as Charles I. of England had been before him; the Bourbon dynasty was banished from the throne, and the Republic was proclaimed. Thereupon France had to face the attacks of Europe in coalition against her. For several years the fortune of war was on her side; at last, fatigued by her military efforts, exhausted by her internal divisions, irritated by the impotence of the revolutionary parties, which were mainly occupied in exterminating one another, and which had finally brought her to the defeats of 1799, hungry for order.

and peace, believing that the advance of the Coalition menaced the civil equality which was so dear to her, and endangered her title to the lands taken from the clergy and the nobles—France made up her mind to guarantee herself against foreign aggression, against the return of the *ancien régime*, and against anarchy. She accepted, therefore, with gratitude a military dictatorship; she sanctioned the *coup d'état* which made General Bonaparte a First Consul, and ere long an Emperor; she did not hesitate to sacrifice political liberty, of which she as yet knew only the abuse, in order to preserve the civil conquests of the Revolution.

There was first a *Consular*, and afterwards an *Imperial Constitution*. But there might just as well have been neither. The members who formed the imperial assemblies had neither the authority nor the independence necessary to represent the country, for they were chosen by a Senate itself composed of life-members from a list drawn up by the electors; and as they had no legislative initiative whatever, the powers which would have enabled them to assert their will against that of the sovereign were wanting. Little by little Napoleon I. dispensed with the form of consulting them, even when it was a question of levying taxes. After playing this comedy of representative government for some years he simply returned to the reality of military autocracy.

This system of government lasted as long as the victories of Napoleon, as long as France, according to Thiers' fine saying, "gave herself to him, absorbed herself in him, and seemed, at one time, no longer to think except through him." The day came when, war having consumed her forces, France longed for peace. Napoleon denied it to her, and she elected still to follow him. After Leipsic and Waterloo, however, when the powers had forced Napoleon to give up his crown, she sought

for a middle term between the excesses of the Revolution and those of imperial absolutism; for an instant she thought to find it in the parliamentary system which the *Restoration* brought her. At this epoch the influence of English ideas in political circles was considerable, but there were enormous difficulties in their application.

When the Bourbons returned to France after twenty-five years of exile, bringing with them the nobles who had emigrated in their train during the first years of the Revolution, their object was to reinstate that principle of divine right on which the ancient monarchy was founded, and though they had consented to grant a Constitutional Charter to France, they were not less penetrated with the idea that the people had no other rights than those which they, the Bourbons, chose to recognise. They instituted a Chamber of Peers composed of hereditary or life-members, appointed by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies elected on a property suffrage. This instrument was far from being perfect. The Upper Chamber was formed of individuals possessing no direct authority in the country. It was, indeed, chiefly recruited from an aristocracy which had no title to national gratitude, and against which the Revolution had been directed, and was not therefore a support on which the monarchy could rely. The Lower Chamber was the outcome of a very limited electoral body, and naturally, therefore, in the light of the quasi-universal suffrage which France had for years enjoyed, itself appeared but an indifferent creation. Finally, royalty itself had the formidable task imposed upon it of picking up the threads of a tradition which had been roughly broken, and of reconciling itself, as far as its origin permitted, with the modern spirit. Louis XVIII. succeeded in a great measure, thanks to his intelligence and his tact, in making these different elements live side by side, and in organising political liberty. But he was soon overborne

by the old emigrant nobles, who reproached him with making too many concessions to liberalism, and who hoped to return to a very large extent to the privileged position they had enjoyed before 1789. The reaction which set in at the end of Louis XVIII.'s reign took a stronger form under his successor, Charles X., who was personally among the most resolute opponents of everything that sprang from the Revolution. A Liberal majority having been successfully formed in the Chamber of Deputies in spite of the new restrictions placed upon elections, Charles X. refused to pay attention to its votes. By the famous edicts (*ordonnances*) of July, 1830, he pronounced the dissolution of a Chamber which had just been elected, without even giving it time to meet, and he further claimed to change, by his own authority and without the assent of Parliament, the laws relating to elections and the press. This *coup d'état* was answered by a riot, and the Bourbon dynasty was overthrown.

The Revolution of 1830 has often been compared to the English Revolution of 1688; it, however, resembles it in only two points. A king was sought for in the youngest branch of the fallen family, namely, in that of Orleans. This king consented to reign under the conditions imposed on him by Parliament, with a constitutional charter voted by the latter before he (Louis Philippe) came to the throne. Divine right thus disappeared from the public law of France, in order definitely to make way for the dogma of popular sovereignty. People thought they had, in Lafayette's words, "the best of Republics." It was not long before they were undeceived. The new charter and the laws which governed its application did not sensibly modify the institutions of the Restoration. They were rather more liberal than the old laws, in the sense that the Chambers acquired the right of initiative which had hitherto been denied them; but the Chamber of Peers by the suppression

of heredity, and by the dismissal of a certain number of representatives of the old families, lost all independence, and was henceforth almost exclusively composed of officials, while as for the Chamber of Deputies, the system of property suffrage was maintained on bases which were still very narrow, though somewhat wider than they had been. The King, though endowed with real intelligence, had neither the discretion nor the tact necessary to a constitutional sovereign. He liked to take a personal share in public affairs, which was right enough, only that he made the mistake of doing it in a way to attract attention. This made him popular so long as the policy of his government was popular. But when people saw the public burdens increase, when public opinion began to be agitated by the labour question, and the deputies elected by property voters refused to turn their attention to it, when Guizot's cabinet, relying on a majority gained by electoral pressure of a rather doubtful kind, obstinately refused electoral reform, that is to say, the extension of the suffrage to individuals possessing special qualifications* (members of the Institute, lawyers, doctors, &c.), it was the King whom they blamed. On February 24, 1848, the monarchy of July was overthrown by a riot. This revolution was styled the "Revolution of Contempt" (*Révolution du mépris*), so few were the obstacles to the overthrow of the House of Orleans.

The *Second Republic* met with the same fate as the first. It went at one stroke to the last extremities of the popular demands. As Ernest Picard wittily remarked, "To punish M. Guizot for refusing the admission of *capacities*,† at one blow they decreed the admission of all the *incapacities*." The vote was granted to all Frenchmen of twenty-one without any property qualifications. In one day the number of electors rose from 300,000 to nine or ten millions. It was a heavy task to provide for the political

* Aux capacités.

† i.e., professional men, etc.

education of such a mass, and it must be said that the enterprise is still far from being finished. The events which followed, and which we have now to relate, have been against it.

The great Revolution had given civil equality to France, and when she thought it menaced, France, at the price of her liberty, took refuge under a Dictator. It was the same with the political equality which was given her by the Revolution of 1848. In order to preserve it, the country accepted a Dictator, and that Dictator suppressed freedom. The Constitution of 1848 had taken care to place the head of the executive power, the President of the Republic, in an inferior position with regard to the legislative power, which was composed of a single assembly; but it had made the mistake of deciding that the President should be elected by universal suffrage directly, and that he should not be re-eligible after four years of office. This was to provoke the conflict. The people, in whose memories the Napoleonic tradition still held a great place, elected as President Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. In the Assembly, the old parties, which had been shaken for a moment by the appearance of the Revolution, re-formed, but only after they had let the world see their divisions and their impotence. Alarmed by the progress of Socialistic ideas, they met to pass (May 31, 1850) a law which, by demanding three years' residence in a commune before a man could vote, suppressed three millions of electors. They, further, refused to revise the Constitution, in order to allow the Prince to secure his re-election.

On December 2, 1851, Prince Louis Napoleon closed the hall where the Assembly sat, and rescinded the law of May 31, 1850. This *coup d'état* was ratified by the popular vote by an enormous majority; and the second Empire was born.

The *Imperial Constitution* of 1852 greatly resembled

that of the first Empire. It did not offer more guarantees for public liberties, and, indeed, there was no sort of liberty until 1860, although universal suffrage remained in force for the election of deputies. From that date onwards Napoleon III. made some concessions—timid at first, then more complete—in proportion as he himself felt the need of the support of public opinion. Thus, by degrees, the establishment of the parliamentary Empire was arrived at, in the beginning of 1870. But it was too late. France had perceived that she had lost too much in letting herself go as she had done in 1851, and that, to preserve political equality, she had deprived herself of the one instrument which could make that equality of use—namely, liberty. Her confidence in the virtues of the Imperial government had been greatly shaken by the want of success in its foreign policy since 1866, and by the unsatisfactory condition of the national finances. The terrible war of 1870, the disasters of the month of August, and the capitulation of Napoleon III. at Sedan, gave the *coup de grâce* to the Empire, and to a system which only success could excuse. On September 4th the Republic was proclaimed, and a *Government of National Defence* was hastily constituted to carry on the war, and to attempt the restoration of the sorely tried national honour.

The war over, it became necessary to think of giving a constitution to France. The first step was the election, by universal suffrage, of a National Assembly which had to pronounce on the conclusion of the peace. Its first work was to ratify the Treaty of Frankfort: it then proceeded to create a constitution. The electors having been consulted chiefly on the question of war or peace, had before all things chosen candidates who were in favour of peace. Accordingly it turned out that the majority of the National Assembly was composed of monarchists. There were very few Bonapartists, but a large number of

the partisans of the Comte de Chambord, the heir of the Bourbons, or of the Comte de Paris, the representative of the house of Orleans—these were the Legitimists and the Orleanists. So long as the enemy remained on French territory, to insure the payment of the war indemnity owed him, the majority did not trouble itself about the restoration of the Monarchy, and supreme power was entrusted to the illustrious Thiers, first as head of the executive, and then as President of the Republic, assisted by a responsible ministry. After the evacuation of the territory Thiers was overthrown, to be replaced by Marshal McMahon, who, it was thought, might be counted on to favour a Restoration. There was but one throne for three Pretenders, among whom no understanding was possible. After many efforts the Monarchists themselves finding it impossible to carry out their projects, separated, and some of them joined the Republican minority of the Assembly, in order to vote the *Constitution of 1875*, which now governs France.

This long series of shocks lasting for a century, these speedy disappointments of ever-reviving hopes, and this failure—which has persisted too long, and of which the last few years only have seen the end—to find a *modus vivendi* between the political liberties of the nation and its passion for equality, explain in a great measure the present internal position of the country, and the form of its institutions.

France is a Republic because she has lost all monarchical traditions. The legitimate tradition has been twice broken, in 1792 and in 1830, as incompatible with the requirements of the modern spirit, and, in default, the attempt was made to construct an Orleanist tradition in 1830. This attempt, however, which had no roots in the past, came to an end, almost at its birth, through the blunders and narrow-mindedness of the very men who had started it. The Napoleonic legend, which was born in Egypt at the foot of the

Pyramids, was shattered at Sedan. After existing *de facto* from 1870 to 1875 the Republic was definitely established by law in 1875.

France is democratic, because her nobility was without political authority even before 1789 ; and because the middle class property-voters who had political power from 1815 to 1848 did not know how to make use of it in a way that would ensure to the country, together with tranquillity, the gradual and progressive education and elevation of the lower social strata. The nobles were discredited from the political point of view by the whole history of pre-revolutionary France, while the middle class has speedily proved its inability to govern in the present century. Against the first was arrayed, in 1789, civil equality ; against the second, in 1848, political equality.

France, republican and democratic, now possesses parliamentary institutions:—an irresponsible President, responsible ministers, and two Chambers. These institutions were by no means a part of the republican tradition. In 1792 and in 1848 there was only one Assembly, and an executive power absolutely dependent on it ; even in 1792 there was no Head of the State, but only executive committees. These parliamentary institutions are a legacy from the Monarchists, and have been the necessary condition of the assistance rendered by the latter to the foundation of the Republic in 1875. Obligated to live in a house built by their enemies, the Republicans have little by little become accustomed to it. They have recognised that there was a great advantage in being protected against their own impulses by the complications of the parliamentary machine, and the large majority of them would not willingly abandon it to-day.

But the working of these republican, democratic, and parliamentary institutions suffers from great difficulties arising from the very succession of events which led to their establishment. Each of the governments overthrown during

the last century has still its partisans, and is represented in the French Chambers. There we find Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists,* who would all like to overthrow the Republic, without being agreed, however, as to what they would put in its place. Again, the Republican majority which now exists in the two Chambers is divided. As we have said, the education of the democracy is not yet completed. It is only very recently that the democracy has been given the instruments necessary for that education—freedom of the press and freedom of public meeting. France does not yet possess freedom of combination, and one may say that all that concerns the strong organisation of parties, their discipline, the strict definition of their programmes, and the concentration of their forces, is still unknown in France, or very nearly so, so that the French Parliament commonly presents the spectacle of coalitions such as recent times have seen in England with the birth of the Radical and Home Rule parties—coalitions excellent indeed for the overthrow of a cabinet, but absolutely incapable of securing its duration.

Such are the historical ideas and general considerations which must be borne in mind in order thoroughly to understand the Constitution of 1875, which we shall now proceed to describe.

THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION.

This Constitution is composed of the three laws of February 24, February 25, and July 16, 1875, which have been modified in part by the laws of June 21, 1879, and of August 14, 1884. It is distinguished from all preceding French Constitutions in that it contains no declaration of

* The death of the Comte de Chambord, which has made the Comte de Paris head of the House of Bourbon, has not altogether completed the union of the two branches of the Royalist party. Prince Louis Napoleon, son of Napoleon III., died, as is well known, in Zululand. Prince Jerome Napoleon, his cousin, has become head of the family. A few Bonapartists, thinking him too Liberal, prefer his son, Prince Victor.

principle, no promise of liberty ; it does not make any philosophic, still less any humanitarian, pretensions. It confines itself to the organisation of the public powers instituted by it ; nor is it altogether complete on this point, and in many cases, whether for the interpretation of certain of its claims, or for the regulation of certain points on which it is silent, recourse must be had to previous constitutional or legislative texts, and sometimes, again, to later laws. It is sufficient to mention this point once for all, to avoid returning to it, as we do not wish to overload the information we have to give with references to texts.

In France sovereignty resides in the people legally represented by its mandatories, the members, that is, of the *two Chambers*, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The powers of Parliament thus constituted are unlimited, and its will becomes law as soon as it has been manifested in due form, some slight restrictions only excepted. Parliament does not, however, always follow the same forms. If it is a question of an ordinary law, dealing with such matters as marriage, customs-duties, the army, etc., each of the two Chambers sits separately, and formulates a separate opinion ; if, on the contrary, it is a question of revising the Constitution, that is to say, of modifying one or more clauses of the above constitutional laws, a special procedure is followed. Each of the two Chambers must first declare that there is ground for a total or partial revision of the Constitution, and, both of them having arrived at an agreement on this point, they meet in a single body, which, under the name of *National Assembly* or *Congress*, proceeds to this revision. It was thought that these long, solemn formalities would give greater stability to the provisions of the Constitution, but, as we have seen, they have not prevented two revisions from being carried out. The same Congress, formed under similar conditions, elects the President of the Republic.

What are these two Chambers on which rests the whole

political existence of France? How are they formed, and what do they represent?

Universal suffrage is at the base of both. We have said enough of the circumstances out of which that suffrage was born to show that no man was able in 1875, and that no one would be able now, to think of modifying or restricting it. The Senate, like the Chamber of Deputies, proceeds from this universal suffrage. But while the deputies are chosen directly by all Frenchmen not less than twenty-one years old, who are not under any legal disability (such as military service, bankruptcy, or condemnation to certain dishonourable punishments, &c.), and who have kept a six months' residence in a commune,* the senators are elected by indirect election only.

The *Senate* consists of 300 members, elected for nine years, and renewable to the extent of a third of their number at the end of every third year. Each department and certain colonies are represented by a number of Senators ranging from one to ten. The Senators, who must be French citizens not less than forty years old, are chosen by an electoral body which meets at the capital of the department, and which consists (1) of the Deputies, Councillors-General, and District-Councillors (Conseillers d'arrondissement) of the department; (2) of delegates chosen by the municipal councils, each commune being entitled to a number of delegates ranging from one to thirty, according to its population.†

* At the General Elections of October 4, 1885, there were 10,181,100 electors on the lists, of whom 7,896,100 voted.

† At this moment there are still a certain number of irremovable Senators (*inamovibles*) in the Senate—that is, men chosen Senators for life. In 1875 it was decided that there should be seventy-five such Senators, that the National Assembly of that year should elect them for the first time, and that as they died off they should be replaced by the Senate itself. In 1884 this co-optative method of election was suppressed for the future, but the existing "irremovables" were maintained; when one of

As the delegates of the Communes form the great majority of this electoral body, the Senate has been called the "Grand Council of the Communes of France." As the deputies and the two orders of councillors, who are senatorial electors, themselves proceed from universal suffrage, the Senate ultimately does so too. Elected for the first time in January, 1876, the Senate was partially renewed in 1879, 1882, 1885, and 1888, and will undergo similar partial renewal in 1891, etc. At each of these dates one-third of the departments are called upon to renew the whole of their representation.

The *Chamber of Deputies* consists of 584 members, distributed among the departments and certain colonies at the rate of one member per 70,000 inhabitants, with a minimum of three deputies to a department. It is elected for four years; its members must be Frenchmen of twenty-five years old at least, and it must be entirely renewed either at the expiration of its powers, or after a dissolution. The mode of election has often varied since the establishment of universal suffrage. In 1848 and in 1871 the *scrutin de liste* was applied; in 1852 and in 1876 the *scrutin d'arrondissement*; in 1885 there was a return to the *scrutin de liste* by department. In both cases the voting is always secret, a closed voting paper being placed in the box assigned for the purpose. But the size of the electoral districts and the number of votes to be given vary. When the voting is uni-nominal, or by *scrutin d'arrondissement*, the electoral district is so constituted that each elector votes for one deputy only; when the voting is by the departmental *scrutin de liste*, he votes for as many names as the entire department has representatives to elect. This last system has been reverted to in the hope that the deputies chosen by vast electoral districts would be withdrawn from local influences and freer from parochial interests. An object which

them dies, his seat is handed over to a department, which fills it according to the ordinary rules.

has constantly been kept in view in France is that of inducing the deputies to pay more heed to the general interests of the country, and to show themselves less greedy, on behalf of their constituents, of the administrative favours which our centralised system makes it possible to distribute in such profusion. It cannot yet be said that this ideal has been attained.

The senators, like the deputies, enjoy during their time of office an *annual indemnity* of 9,000 francs (£360), which enables the very poorest Frenchmen to enter the Chambers, once they have been able to meet the expenses of their election. We may observe, on this latter point, that in France elections are far less expensive affairs than they usually are in England, the cost being generally confined to expenses of placarding, distribution of addresses, voting papers, etc. Cases of direct electoral corruption are extremely rare, and are severely punished. Such malpractices as can be cited are perpetrated at the expense of the State rather than of the candidates, who promise offices to their partisans and subsidies to the communes for their roads, churches, and schools ; and though it is right to admit that very few of these promises can be carried out, none the less must it be said that regrettable practices do sometimes take place. It should be added that the law forbids most officials to present themselves for election in their official district, so as to prevent their exerting the pressure which they might employ if this were not the case.

The legislator has done his best to insure by various arrangements the *independence of senators and deputies* both with regard to their constituents, and with regard to the executive power. He has declared every imperative mandate* null and void, that is to say that, once elected, a member of Parliament votes according to his conscience. He is not bound by any engagement he may have made

* Mandat impératif.

with his constituents, nor is any one of the latter qualified to challenge his resignation under pretext of his not having fulfilled his engagements. A senator or a deputy can in no case be prosecuted for votes or opinions given or expressed by him in the exercise of his mandate; no criminal or police-court proceedings can be taken against him during the session, except in cases of *flagrante delicto* without the assent of the Chamber to which he belongs. Finally, the law prescribes a certain number of disqualifications (*incompatibilités*). That is to say, with very rare exceptions, an official cannot at the same time be a member of Parliament, and conversely, if a deputy is appointed to an official post he is considered as having resigned his seat,* even if the post to which he has been called is compatible with the legislative mandate (*e.g.*, First Presidents of the High Courts of Justice sitting at Paris, University Professors, &c.). This last rule does not hold good for senators.

The two Chambers sit at Paris, the Senate at the Palais du Luxembourg, the Chamber at the Palais Bourbon. The *material* arrangement* of the two houses is very different from that at Westminster. The houses are vast semi-circles, with as many seats and desks as the Chamber has members. The centre is occupied by a raised arm-chair on which the President is enthroned, and close to which, on each side, are the secretaries of the Assembly. In front of the Presidential chair is a tribune, raised a few steps, which every member who wishes to speak must mount. Right and left of the tribune are placed the short-hand writers, who report the sitting *in extenso*, their report being published each morning in the *Journal Officiel*. In front, with their backs to the tribune, are the "secretary-reporters" who make out every evening an analysis of the debate, which is distributed to the newspapers. The first

* The only exceptions are the offices of minister, Under Secretary of State, and temporary diplomatic missions.

range of seats in the semi-circle (facing the tribune) is reserved for members of the Government. Behind are ranged the members of the Assembly, who keep the same places whatever the government in power may be. The Monarchists always sit on the right of the President, the Republicans on the left, whence the names of Right and Left which are habitually given to the two parties.

The Chambers are *convoked* and *dissolved* by decree of the President of the Republic, and are always bound to sit simultaneously.* They meet of right, and without special summons, on the second Tuesday of the January of each year. This session, which is called the ordinary session, must last at least five months. At the beginning of each ordinary session each Chamber elects its official staff (bureau), that is to say, its President, its four Vice-Presidents, its Secretaries (the Senate has six, the Chamber eight), to report the meetings and cast up the votes, and three "Quæstors," who are charged with the administration of the different "services" inside the building. Each Chamber has a numerous staff of officials attached to it, and each Chamber frames its own rules of procedure.

French *Parliamentary procedure* differs very sensibly from that which obtains in England. At the beginning of every month the members of each Chamber are distributed, by lot, into a certain number of Boards (bureaux); there are nine in the Senate and eleven in the Chamber. Whenever a bill is put on the table it is referred to the summary examination of these Boards, and each Board elects one or more commissioners, who, together with the representatives of the other Boards, form the Committee which has to make a thorough study of the project. The Committee draws up a Report, which is printed and distributed, and the

* The President has the power to prorogue the Chambers, but he cannot do so oftener than once, nor for more than a month, in the course of a single session, without the consent of Parliament itself.

discussion then begins in open sitting. Every bill has to pass two readings (*délibérations*) in each Chamber, with an interval of five days between each reading, unless the matter has been pronounced urgent by the Chamber, in which case there is but one debate. If a member wishes to take part in the discussion, he must write his name on lists which are in the hands of the secretaries. Those for and those against the bill are heard, and any member has the right to propose amendments. When the Assembly thinks it has heard enough, it can, on the motion of any member, apply the closure. The division then takes place, either by show of hands, or by standing and sitting, or by public vote (*scrutin public*). The latter is given by means of white voting papers (for), and blue (against), on which the name of each member is inscribed. Voting by proxy, without special formalities, is permitted, but in certain cases, and on the demand of a certain number of members, the public vote is given at the tribune, and there is no voting by proxy. For a decision to be valid, an absolute majority of the members of each Chamber must have taken part in the vote, *i.e.*, 151 in the Senate, and 293 in the Chamber. In general, the members are much more assiduous in attending the sittings than they are in England; the sittings are commonly held in the afternoon from two to six, and, as a general thing, there are 200 members present in the Senate and 400 in the Chamber. The duty of keeping order at the sittings falls to the President, who can visit disorderly members with certain penalties. These are the call to order, the simple reprimand, and the reprimand accompanied by temporary exclusion from the sittings—the two last penalties requiring the assent of the majority. These coercive methods are, however, rarely used; the sittings may appear noisy, particularly in the Chamber, but the President frequently succeeds in putting an end to disorder either by a threat or merely by a witticism.

The above procedure is applicable to bills. Bills can be proposed either by ministers in the name of the President of the Republic, or by the initiative of members of either Chamber. An ordinary law may begin its career either in the Senate or in the Chamber indifferently, but all financial laws, whether for opening a new item of expenditure or for abolishing an old one, whether for the creation of new sources of revenue or the suppression of old ones, must first be submitted to the Chamber; and on this head it is to be remarked that the deputies possess as complete a power of initiative in matters of finance as the Government itself.*

The Chambers are not only legislative organs, they are also organs of political control. In this capacity they can receive petitions and refer them to the examination of the Government. Members can put questions to a minister, and can challenge the conduct of a minister by an "interpellation," which leads to a vote of confidence or of want of confidence, or merely to a vote in favour of proceeding to the "order of the day;" that is to say, to the resumption of debate on the other matters before the Assembly. Questions, which are the real and efficacious means of control, are rather rare; "interpellations," on the other hand, which make more noise and often bring about the fall of a cabinet, are common. In principle the rights of the two Chambers are equal on this point, but in practice it has become the custom for a Government to resign when it is confronted by a hostile vote of the Chamber, but not when the declaration of want of confidence comes from the Senate. This distinction is founded on two facts. The Chamber alone can be dissolved (the assent of the Senate having been first obtained);† on the other hand, the

* The budget will be discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.

† The Chamber was thus dissolved by Marshal MacMahon in 1877, in the hope that instead of a Republican majority, such as then existed in the Chamber, the electors would elect a Royalist majority. This hope was

Chamber alone has a right of impeaching Ministers, and even the President of the Republic himself, but the latter only in case of high treason. On such an occasion the Senate is constituted a High Court of Justice and called upon to try the case.*

When the Chambers meet in Congress either to revise the Constitution or to elect the President of the Republic, they sit at Versailles in the great palace of the ancient kings. The bureau† of the Senate is charged by the Constitution with the direction of the labours of the Congress, which are carried on according to rules similar to those already described. It need hardly be said that in this case there are no questions or "interpellations" possible; the Congress must limit its task in the one case to voting, in the other to discussing and then either adopting or rejecting the proposed revision of the Constitution.

Such are the principles of the French Parliamentary constitution. The limits of our space do not allow us to explain fully the application which has been made of them. We shall therefore confine ourselves to an account of the composition of political parties in the existing Chambers, referring for the conclusions to be drawn from that composition to the historical considerations which we offered to the reader at the beginning of this chapter.

From the political point of view, the Senate includes in round numbers, 70 Monarchists, 220 moderate Republicans, and 10 Radicals; in the Chamber there are about 170 Royalists, 220 moderate Republicans, 170 Radicals, and 30 Socialists.‡ From the social point of view, in regard

completely disappointed, but some disfavour remained attached to the Presidential dissolution: the tendency is to see in it a weapon of reaction instead of a means of constituting a majority when one is wanting.

* The Senate can also be called upon to judge crimes against the safety of the State.

† See above, p. 75.

‡ These figures refer to the year 1887.

to which the exact statistics are not so easy to ascertain, we shall only say that the number of members belonging to the nobility is very small, that there is a pretty large number of doctors, lawyers, ex-officials, &c., a few large manufacturers or merchants, a few operatives (most of them in the Chamber), and that the great majority belong to the lower middle class in town or country, which is next door to the pure democracy. The Senate has a majority strong enough to keep a government in power; the Chamber has not, and, too often, the demolition of ministries satisfies its aspirations. Coalition majorities are the only ones it knows, and these motley combinations are extremely feeble. Hence often arises the necessity of forming heterogeneous governments, with no real principle of union between their component parts. During the last few years we have not gone quite so far as to put Royalists and Republicans together in the same cabinet, but we have combined Republicans of the most diverse shades, some of them conservative in feeling, others wildly radical. The natural result has been difficulties without number, and never-ending struggles for the mastery within the Cabinet. As for stating what the programmes of the different parties exactly are, that is by no means easy, notwithstanding the fact that they all make a point of presenting them to the public in documents of prodigious length. But from the very fact of their length these programmes are philosophic documents, not easily applied in practice, rather than political facts. "To grasp too much is to grip too little" (*qui trop embrasse, mal étreint*), says a French proverb, and never has that truth been shown so clearly as in Parliament. There are few countries where reform is more talked of, and there are few also where less is done. Frenchmen are for ever talking of changing everything, but when it comes to the point, a reformer as bold as Bismarck, Gladstone, and many others, is never to be found, nor a majority to follow

him if he were. People have no idea of the spirit of routine and conservatism which prevails in France. In some measure it is an advantage, for it is that spirit which has enabled France to undergo, without suffering too much from them, many a revolution; but it is also a drawback, for when the electors are treated to a multitude of promises which cannot be realised they end by getting tired of waiting, and make, or willingly submit to, revolutions.

This spirit of routine arises in great measure from the administrative centralisation and from the subdivision of property, which will be explained later. As to electoral programmes, the abuses connected with them come chiefly from the fact that liberty is still of very recent date in the history of France, and that the democracy is only beginning to learn by daily experience that, when the solution of a question is required, the true method is not to pose a dozen questions at once, and also that questions are not solved of themselves, but by the prolonged and combined effort of the community. In the days before they possessed liberty, Frenchmen long believed that liberty alone sufficed to bring the age of gold; since they have had it they perceive that after all it is an instrument like any other, better indeed than any other in that it morally educates those who use it, but whose use must nevertheless be learnt.

There are three primordial *liberties*, whether considered from the political point of view or from that of the development of individual initiative; namely, freedom of the press, of meeting, and of combination. Freedom of the press and of meeting have had a real existence in France only since 1881; freedom of combination does not exist even now. Who, then, can be surprised that the education of the French democracy should not yet be completed, and that, in the first use of the liberties it enjoys, there should have been, and should still be, some excesses?

From the Revolution to 1881 the French *Press* passed through divers vicissitudes, but it never was free. It was alternately or simultaneously subjected to (1) the preliminary authorisation required before a newspaper or printing-office could be started; (2) to the preliminary censorship before the publication of each individual issue of the paper; (3) to the deposit by the publisher of a considerable sum of caution-money; (4) to stamp duties, &c.—in a word, to all the apparatus of the preventive system. Since the law of July 29, 1881, on the contrary, all these preventive obstacles have been done away. Every Frenchman is at liberty, after merely giving public notice, to publish a newspaper, remaining, of course, answerable to a jury (in most cases) for any offences or misdemeanours his journal may commit.

Public meetings, whatever their object, religious, economic, scientific, literary, or political, were till 1868 all subject to the preliminary authorisation of the administration. After 1868 that condition was maintained for religious and political meetings only (with the exception, as regards the latter, of meetings at election time). The law of June 30, 1881, finally did away with all preventive obstacles. Any meeting whatever may now be held, on the sole condition of giving notice to the authorities twenty-four hours beforehand. Two hours' notice is sufficient if it be a meeting at election time. The administrative authority may order the dissolution of a meeting only if a breach of the peace or acts of violence occur. It is needless to say that for a meeting in the public streets the previous consent of the authorities is necessary.

The law with regard to *combinations*, i.e., societies not formed for purposes of gain, but for the prosecution of religious, political, scientific, and literary objects, is as follows:—All such societies numbering more than twenty persons must, in virtue of Articles 291–294 of the Penal

Code, and of the law of April 10, 1834, be provided with the authorisation of the administration, and this authorisation is revocable at any moment. There are, it is true, many associations which have not the protection afforded by official authorisation, but they exist only on sufferance, and their existence is, consequently, highly precarious. The principle of French law in this matter is absolute. It applies to philanthropic societies just as much as to associations for political propaganda, and though the law has made some exceptions in favour of a certain class of societies (mutual-help societies, trade-syndicates formed between operatives and employers to defend the interests of their trade, &c.), France has nevertheless not yet attained to the point of putting the right of combination in general under the sanction of the law.*

By the side of the Legislative power, organised in the manner we have described, stands the Executive power, in the person of an elective president assisted by responsible ministers.

The *President of the Republic* is elected for seven years by an electoral college composed of the members of the Senate and of the Chamber, united in National Assembly. Any French citizen may be chosen President, no fixed age even being required. The one exception to this rule is constituted by members of royal families which have once reigned in France. Such personages are not only ineligible for the functions of President, but are also disqualified to receive a mandate either as senator or deputy. The National Assembly must proceed to the election of a new President in the month before the expiration of the powers of his predecessor. Should the

* We do not here consider the law as it affects religious bodies, of which we shall speak in Chapter IV. It is largely the apprehension that a law on freedom of combination would benefit these bodies that has prevented Parliament from making it.

President die or resign, the election must take place with the least possible delay, and in the interval the Council of Ministers is temporarily invested with the executive power.

The last President, M. Jules Grévy, was elected upon the resignation of Marshal McMahon, on January 30, 1879; and was re-elected for a new period of seven years in December, 1885. M. Grévy was an ex-barrister, who had always professed Republican opinions, and who was generally respected for the simplicity of his life and the soundness of his understanding. It was often said of him by way of epigram that he always had the luck to profit by things against which he had fought or events he had disapproved; and it is true that he is well known to have proposed, in 1848, that there should be no President of the Republic; to have refused, in 1870, to have anything to do with the revolution of the 4th September; and to have voted, in 1875, against certain fundamental clauses of the new Constitution. He exercised his power with extreme reserve; some people even reproached him with not making his personality sufficiently felt in the management of public affairs.

M. Grévy had to resign at the end of 1887 on account of a criminal prosecution which was brought against a member of his family. The present President, M. Carnot, elected on December 3rd, 1887, bears one of the greatest names of the Republican party. He is the grandson of the illustrious war-minister of the Revolution. He was formerly a distinguished engineer, and more than once Minister of Public Works or of Finance.

The President is paid 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a year, half as salary, half for travelling expenses and for the charges incumbent upon him as the official representative of the country. He resides, when at Paris, at the Elysée Palace, and has the sporting right in the national preserves of

Marly and Rambouillet. As Head of the State, the President is grand master of the national order of the Legion of Honour; he directs the Government and the administration, represents and embodies the State in its relations with foreign powers, sees that the decisions of the legislative power are carried into execution, and is obliged to promulgate within a certain time laws which have been regularly voted by the Chambers. He has no right to refuse his sanction to such laws, and all he can do is to invite Parliament to a second deliberation on the subject. He issues the decrees necessary for the carrying out of the law; he disposes of the military forces of the country, but cannot declare war without the previous consent of the Chambers. He negotiates treaties; but treaties of peace and commercial treaties which concern the status of individuals, or which engage the finances of the State, must not be ratified by him before they have been submitted to the approbation of Parliament. He can pardon, or grant a total or partial remission of their sentences to individuals condemned by the criminal courts, but to Parliament is reserved the right of amnesty, that is to say, of remitting the other legal results of condemnations.* The President, as we have seen, summons the Chambers, and has the power of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, if the Senate assents. We should add that he is *compelled* to assemble Parliament when the absolute majority (half *plus* one) of the members of each Chamber calls on him to do so. Finally, in the accomplishment of all his acts as Head of the State, the President is irresponsible, the case of high treason alone excepted. He is liable to indictment for high treason by the Chamber, and is in such a case tried before the Senate; but none of his acts are valid unless

* We should mention that the sentences of the Law Courts are not pronounced in the name of the Head of the State, but in the name of the French People.

countersigned by his ministers, who thus assume the responsibility thereof.

The *Ministers* are appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic. There are at this moment ten ministers, each of them at the head of a distinct department of the administration. These are the Ministers of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, of the Interior, of Finance, of War, of the Navy and the Colonies, of Public Education, Fine Arts, and Public Worship, of Public Works, of Agriculture, and of Trade.* An Under Secretary of State is still at the head of the Colonial administration, pending the conversion, which cannot be long delayed, of the latter into a distinct department with a minister of its own. One of the ministers bears the title of President of the Council, over and above the title of his special ministry, the title not being attached to any portfolio in particular. Every minister receives an annual salary of 60,000 francs (£2,400), and every Under Secretary of State 20,000 francs (£800). They reside generally in the official mansions set apart for the departments they control.

Ministers may be chosen either from members of Parliament or from outside, and the latter course is frequently adopted in cases where certain special departments, such as those of War and of the Navy, are concerned. But in either case ministers have the right to sit in *both Chambers*, and can address either House whenever they desire to do so. Thus it comes about, in contradistinction to the English practice, that a minister, though a senator, may speak in the Chamber, and *vice versa*; but, of course, a minister can only vote in the Chamber of which he is a member. In the debates they are often helped by Government commissioners, who are high officials appointed for that purpose by Presidential decree. The

* See Chapter III. for an account of the administrative powers of each of the above.

President has also, in theory, the initiative of bills submitted to Parliament by ministers in the name of the Government.

Ministers are *responsible* to the Chambers. They are responsible individually for all acts peculiar to their department, and collectively for the general policy of the Government. They are, therefore, obliged to deliberate together on the principal steps of their policy. When they meet in the presence and under the presidency of the Head of the State it is called a "Council of Ministers;" when the President is absent it is called a "Cabinet Council." Special proceedings, such as the nomination or recall of certain high officials, must, by law, come before Councils of Ministers; others only when they are of exceptional political importance. All ministers are members of the Council, and have a consultative voice in its proceedings.

The responsibility of ministers is political, penal, or civil. Their political responsibility is the consequence, in France, as in all other countries endowed with a parliamentary system, of the fact that they resign when confronted with a vote of want of confidence by the Chambers, or rather, as we have remarked already, by the Chamber of Deputies only. Such resignation is not prescribed by law, but is a custom resulting from the fact that a minister or a cabinet no longer in possession of the confidence of the majority has no longer a chance of obtaining from Parliament the laws or credits necessary for carrying on the Government. Penal responsibility, on the other hand, is part of the law of the Constitution. Ministers can be indicted by the Chamber, and in that case are judged by the Senate. No organic law has been passed upon the subject; the cases in which such an action can be brought, and the penalties applicable to them, have not been provided for; but it is generally allowed—and several apt precedents anterior to the Constitution of 1875 exist—that, the law being silent on the point, the Chamber has every power to choose

the counts of the indictment, and the Senate every power to apply what penalty it pleases. Civil responsibility—that is to say, the responsibilities incurred by ministers whose fault or carelessness may have injured the Treasury—has often been asserted, but in practice cannot be applied, as there is no court competent to try the case. If, for instance, a minister spends more than the budget authorises him to spend, there are no legal means of compelling him to refund the sums he has illegally expended.

It will be seen that, regarded as a whole, the regulations which govern the relations of the Chamber with the Executive power have established in France the *Parliamentary system*, which had existed there from 1814 to 1848. But this system, in its origin as in its organisation and its application, is very different from that which prevails in England. In France it is not the heritage of a long tradition slowly gathering shape from century to century, but was created almost of one piece in 1875. It is true that when that creation was being elaborated search was made in the storehouse of the ephemeral constitutions which France had known since 1789 for whatever was best in any of them, but there were some things which could not be re-established, either because they had long ceased to exist, or because they were radically incompatible with democracy. No hereditary power, no aristocratic Chamber, was possible. Hence also this result, that what is only a fact in England is a law in France; the Executive has been avowedly subordinated to the Legislature, without any trouble being taken to preserve to the former even the appearance of supreme authority. At this moment what constitutes the grand force of the Executive is not its political powers, which are slight enough, but its administrative action, which, as the next chapter will show, is enormous. As for political authority, it is absolutely true that it is in the hands of Parliament, and more particularly in the

hands of the Chamber of Deputies. That, at least, is the way things are managed at this moment.

If the reader will now recall what has been said of the organisation, or rather want of organisation, of political parties in France, and of the large number of those parties, and of the anti-constitutional character of one of them, he will have the explanation of the frequent ministerial crises which astonish Europe. We shall surprise the English reader still more if we add that, nearly all governments being overthrown by a coalition of the extreme groups of Right and Left, and such a coalition being incapable of giving birth to a living cabinet (since one group wants to restore the monarchy, and the other to push democratic doctrines to their extreme limit), the new ministers are regularly chosen from the ranks of the minority which had upheld their predecessors. An attempt is made, according to circumstances, to rally a few voices Right or Left by giving a portfolio or two either to the Radicals or to the more moderate Republicans, but that method never produces anything but a Government without homogeneity, whose action is singularly weakened by internal dissensions. This is, undeniably, an extremely painful state of things ; but the daily advancing education of the democracy and the gradual disappearance of the Monarchists from Parliament are sure to modify it. It is a question of time, patience, and persevering effort. Considerable results have moreover been obtained already. Habits of free discussion, the practice of popular meetings, and attempts at political combination have extended widely in the last few years. On their side the Monarchists, in order to gain some hold on the electors, are reduced to hiding their dynastic preferences, and cover themselves with the simple title of "Conservatives." A new generation is growing up in France, more sceptical than its predecessors as regards principles and formulas, but more accustomed to the ways of liberty. One may believe that the

Constitution of 1875, born as it was of mutual bargaining and mutual surrender, and developed through crises, which are indeed numerous, but whose very frequency deadens their intensity, will show itself infinitely more solid and lasting than those which have gone before it. It has the advantage over the latter of lending itself to all possible combinations of political activity in the country, and of opening the gates of power alike to Conservatives and to Radicals, according as public opinion feels the need of inclining to the one party or the other. A longer lease of life is all it wants in order to bring forth its fruits.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATIVE FRANCE.

CONTENTS.— Historical origin of Centralisation.— Principle of the separation of powers.— Central Administration : Ministerial departments and their organisation ; the Council of State.— Local Administrations : the Department, Prefect, and Council General ; the Arrondissement and Sub-Prefect ; the Canton ; the Commune, Mayor, Municipal Council ; the Towns of Lyons and Paris ; the supervision of the Central Administration ; the service of " Public Help."

HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF CENTRALISATION.

WHILE the political organisation of France is, as we saw in the last chapter, of quite recent date, its administrative organisation is very ancient, and in many respects therefore is in contradiction with the former. In its external form—in the division of France into departments, and in the official hierarchy ; in the powers and in the privileges of the administrative authorities—this organisation goes back, indeed, to the Revolution and the First Empire. In its principle, which is administrative centralisation and uniformity, it goes back still farther, and has its roots in the ancient monarchy.

The struggle waged by the Crown, with the support of the communes, against the feudal lords—a struggle which brought about the establishment of absolutism in the political sphere—had a similar effect upon the growth of the French administrative system. Just as the representatives of the nation had seen all political action wrested from

them, in like manner local government had been little by little absorbed by the delegates of the central power, who were known by the name of Intendants. The Intendant, an official appointed by the king, was a veritable autocrat in the province which he administered. On the eve of the Revolution a few provinces only had preserved a local representation which voted and levied the taxation demanded by the king; everywhere else the will of the king was carried out through the medium of the Intendants, without any limitations whatever.

The Revolution facilitated, unawares, this work of centralisation. Anxious before all things to insure the legislative unity of the country, and to do away with local privileges, the Revolution suppressed the ancient provinces as early as 1789, and divided France into departments, to which it gave a uniform organisation. The departmental organisation rested in principle on a large decentralisation; for all the local authorities—even the actual executive officers of the central government—proceeded from popular election. But the First Empire, while preserving the framework of this new administrative division, which had been intended to suppress all the ancient local traditions in order to create new bodies at a single stroke, transformed its spirit. In each local circumscription, whether department or commune, it placed an agent of the central power, who was not slow to absorb completely the administration of local interests, and to leave the local representatives nothing but consultative powers. It is only since 1870 that an attempt has been made to forsake these strange ideas, in order to get back in a measure to the principles laid down in 1789, and to leave the local governments a larger share of independence. After having for a century focussed all administrative life in the centre, and weakened the extremities, the attempt is now being made to restore some vitality to the latter. But the task is

long and difficult, for the strictly limited powers possessed during that period by the local authorities have not facilitated the growth of classes capable of managing public business intelligently ; and it is not easy to reanimate bodies which had been intentionally reduced to anæmia so that they might thereby become more manageable, and more subservient to the influence of the central power. Once the spirit of independence has been violently stifled it is difficult to re-awaken the spirit of initiative.

In spite of the fundamental disadvantage which has been pointed out, the unifying and centralising tendency given to the administrative organisation has had one considerable advantage : it has singularly facilitated the action of the central power. Directly an order is issued from Paris one can answer for its being almost instantaneously carried out over the whole country, and in the same way ; and this is an immense strength to the Government. But this very strength has its dangers. It has often needed only a *coup de main* at Paris for all France to change its road. Again, the Government being, or thinking itself, in virtue of its omnipresent officials, the master of France, has been sometimes blinded as to its own power to the point of being led by its excess of self-confidence to downright precipices—that is to say, to revolutions. Meeting with no resistance, it has thought itself omnipotent. Experience has cruelly undeceived it, but at the price of violent commotions which have brought cruel suffering upon the country. At the present day, when the nation can make its voice heard either by Parliament or by local councils—which, as we shall see, are also organised on the basis of universal suffrage—the danger is in some degree lessened ; the Government can stop in time when it finds it is on a bad tack. But the danger, nevertheless, has not yet completely disappeared, and the time must be contemplated—and no very distant time, perhaps—when the administrative framework

which was created by absolutism, and which has become too narrow for new political habits, will have to be modified.

This may seem all the more indispensable from the fact that—strange as it may appear, and in spite of all the political guarantees which exist to-day in favour of the nation—the citizens, considered as individuals, have no sort of security against possible excesses of the administration towards them. If political power is dependent, the administrative power, on the contrary, is independent—even omnipotent—and that in virtue of a singular doctrine, which Englishmen must find it hard to understand, and which obtains in France under the name of the principle of the *separation of powers*.

SEPARATION OF POWERS.

When, in 1789, an effort was made to give France a constitution, men were not yet emancipated from the impression left by the abuses of the *ancien régime*: and one of the most crying of all those abuses, one, too, that resulted from the very existence of absolutism, was that the same authority to which the application of the law was entrusted was also entrusted with the making of it. Thence arose the frequent temptation for that authority to make a new law, or to force the interpretation of an existing law, in view of a particular given case, and the result of that was a total absence of guarantees for the rights of individual citizens. Again, the Parliaments (in their capacity as High Courts of Justice) had, during the last years of their existence, opposed the registration of certain royal edicts which brought about some slight reforms, simply because those reforms were antagonistic to the ideas or interests of the judges sitting in those Parliaments. Finally, as we have already pointed out, the need was felt of unifying France and insuring the préponderance of the central power.

The principle of the separation of powers was accordingly declared. Reduced to its essential elements, this principle is a just one, if it means that the authority which makes the law should not be charged with its application to individuals, and that the authority charged with its application should not have the power to oppose the execution of a law which has been regularly voted. Parliament makes the law, the courts apply it, and the agents of the executive power take measures for its execution. Nothing could be better.

Of this sound idea, however, a false application was straightway made, when the Constitution declared that ministers, viewed as the heads of the different branches of the executive power, must not be members of the legislative power—a separation which deprived the latter of its powers of control over the working of the administration. This application of the principle, a very favourable one to absolutism, was particularly in vogue under the First and the Second Empires; it has disappeared since 1871. A still further step was taken when it was decided that the courts, the judiciary power that is, could no more exercise their authority in a sense hostile to the executive power than they could refuse to carry out a law which had been regularly voted. The Consular Constitution of the eighth year of the Republic, in Article 75, which was, for that matter, the reproduction of a clause of a law of 1790, declared that “the agents of the government . . . cannot be prosecuted for acts relating to their functions, except by virtue of a decision of the Council of State.” As the Council of State is itself a part of the administration, this was as much as to say that the latter was both judge and defendant in its own cause, and that when a citizen had reason to complain of the excesses of an official he could only prosecute that official when the latter’s superiors thought fit.

This is, in fact, what happened, and, in consequence

of the numerous abuses which occurred, the Government of the National Defence abrogated, September 19, 1870, Article 75 of the Constitution of year VIII. But, when once a prejudice or a so-called principle has taken root in a country, a legal enactment is not sufficient to dislodge it. Administrative jurisprudence* has made up by an ingenious logic of its own for the absence of definite laws "protecting" the administration. Doubtless, said the courts, the authorisation of the Council of State is no longer required for the prosecution of an official; but, in point of fact, the position remains unaltered, for, in virtue of the superior principle of the separation of powers, the courts cannot make themselves judges of the acts of the administration. Thus, if the official declares he has acted by the orders of his superiors, the court is not qualified to verify the point, and if the order really has been given, the court is not competent to judge of its legality. It cannot even annul the effects of the official's act in all cases. So that, from every point of view, the ultimate result remains the same—no responsibility for an official, unless he be prosecuted by his superiors themselves. If, for instance, a citizen be illegally arrested, he can, after a certain period of imprisonment on suspicion get himself released, but once released, nothing is left for him but to go home and keep quiet, for he has no means of making the official who has arrested him responsible.

Such is the unfortunate situation which the law as thus interpreted imposes on French citizens, from the point of view of security for their individual rights. Clearly, we have here the heritage of a political past altogether out of harmony with the existing constitution. To safeguard the liberty of the administration that of individuals has been

* See Chapter VII. for what is said on the subject of Administrative Courts.

sacrificed. In spite of the resources offered by the Constitution to enable the will of the majority to prevail on the march of public affairs, the administration preserves in some sort a complete autonomy with regard to individuals; it has been and may again become, so long as this interpretation of the law persists, an instrument of despotism.

Let us now see what the French administration is, how it is organised, and how it works. It is, of course, divided into two branches—the central administration, and the various local administrations.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION.

The number of ministerial departments has a constant tendency to increase, owing to the incessant augmentation of the duties thrown upon the State. There are at present ten such departments, and the duties devolving on each of them are as follows:—

I. *Ministry of Justice*.—The organisation and discipline of the staff of the ordinary courts; general supervision of the administration of justice; recommendations to mercy, commutations of sentences, and rehabilitations of persons wrongly condemned; naturalisations, changes of name, &c. The Council of State, the National Press, and the grand chancellerie of the Legion of Honour are attached to it.

II. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*.—Diplomatic and consular relations with foreign countries. The administration of the Protectorates of Tunis and Madagascar.

III. *Ministry of the Interior*.—Staff of prefects; supervision of the local administration; departments, communes, Algeria communal roads; poor relief (*assistance publique*); service of prisons; police.

IV. *Ministry of Finance*.—Service of the Treasury, of the National Debt, and of public accounts (*i.e.*, central adminis-

tration, properly so called). Administrations (or financial controls—"régies") of direct taxes; of indirect taxes; of registration, of the domain lands, and of stamps; of the customs; of state manufactures (tobacco); of the coinage; of posts and telegraphs.*

V. *Ministry of War*.—Organisation, equipment, and administration of the army; military schools; military courts.

VI. *Ministry of the Navy and the Colonies*.—Service of the fleet; organisation, equipment, and administration of the naval and marine forces; naval schools, maritime courts, military harbours. The Treasury (*caisse*) of the naval pensioners is attached to it. Service of the Colonies,† organisation, staff, and supervision of the colonies other than Algeria and the Protectorates.

VII. *Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and Public Worship*.—Public instruction; organisation and direction of public institutions (State or communal) for higher, secondary, or primary education; supervision of voluntary schools (*enseignement libre*); administration of the Institute of France and the national libraries. Service of the fine arts; art teaching, prizes, exhibitions, the national manufactures of Sèvres china, the tapestry works of Gobelins (at Paris), and of Beauvais; construction and maintenance of buildings belonging to the civil administrations of the State; Public worship.‡

* The Treasury (*caisse*) of Deposits and Consignments is a financial institution of the State, having an independent existence, and charged, in the name and with the assistance of the Treasury, or merely by its own resources, with the service of the savings banks, and with that of the State subsidies or loans granted to departments or communes for certain works of public interest, such as the construction of roads, schools, &c. Without being under the direct authority of the Ministry of Finance, this *caisse* is practically attached to it by its constant relations with the Treasury.

† This administration is directed by a civil (*i.e.* non-military) Under-Secretary of State. There is question of making a distinct department of it.

‡ This administration has at different periods formed part of the work assigned to the Ministry of Justice or to that of Public Instruction.

VIII. *Ministry of Public Works*.—National and departmental roads, river navigation, commercial ports, canals, mines, railways; professional schools—*écoles spéciales* (School of Mines, School of Roads and Bridges, &c.).

IX. *Ministry of Agriculture*.—Agricultural education, cattle regulations, encouragements to agriculture, forests, irrigation-canals, drainage and improvement works, studs.

X. *Ministry of Commerce and Industry*.—Home and foreign trade; customs and public health legislation; technical education. The Central School of Arts and Manufactures is attached to it.

These Ministries are far from possessing a uniform *organisation*, each having constituted itself in its own way, according to its special exigencies. There is, however, a general type of organisation, which is as follows:—

1. Each Minister* has a “cabinet” of his own, composed of a Director, or Chief, and of several first-class clerks (*attachés*), who are appointed and dismissed by him at will. This cabinet is entrusted with his correspondence, his relations with Parliament, and with putting together, in the clearest possible shape, those labours of the administration which require the signature or approbation of the minister.

2. A number of Directors or Directors-General unite, each of them under his authority, a group of administrative services. There are, for instance, two Directors in the Ministry of Justice, five in the Ministry of the Interior, etc.

3. The labours of each “Direction” are distributed among sections and bureaux, each of which has a particular specialty. In each bureau a chief directs the work, one or more “editors” (*rédacteurs*) do the brain work, and a

* See what has been said above, p. 84, about the ministers.

number of clerks perform the purely mechanical labour of copying, etc.

4. Each Ministry has its own counting-house, the principal use of which is to keep a record of the "orders to pay" (*mandats de paiement*) which the Ministry delivers; for, as a general rule, the payments themselves are effected by a special service of paymasters, who are under the exclusive control of the Minister of Finance, and answerable to him for their administration. These are the paymasters-general of the Treasury in each department, the special collectors (*receveurs particuliers*) in each arrondissement, etc.—a species of banker-officials in the service of the State, and appointed by it.

Just as there is no general rule for the organisation of the central administrations, so there is none for the appointment or payment of the working staff. On this point each Ministry has its own rules or merely its own special usages. Speaking generally, however, and with a few exceptions, it may be said that the high officials (notably the Directors) are appointed by decree of the Head of the State, the others by decision of the Minister; "editors" and clerks are, as a rule, recruited by means of a competitive examination bearing upon the special subject-matter of each Ministry, and receive their commissions only after a probationary period of one to three years. All are subjected to a deduction of five per cent. on their salaries, in view of the retiring pension to which they are entitled after thirty years' service. They may, however, be dismissed by the authority which appointed them, and it happens very frequently that individuals from without are called upon to occupy the higher posts of the administration.

The French bureaucracy, thus constituted, has fine traditions of application and integrity; and its strong organisation has even enabled it to work in times of external or internal crisis, without receiving any effective direction

from the Government. But there is a reverse to the medal. The bureaucracy easily becomes the slave of routine ; the frequent changes of ministers during recent years, the enormous piling up of papers and administrative details which ministers cannot settle by themselves, and for which they are obliged to trust to their bureaux, has developed in the latter a great inertia and a passive resistance, which are not very favourable to the rapid and intelligent execution of ministerial orders.

Beside the staff of their bureaux, ministers are surrounded by a large number of councils and technical committees, which space does not permit us to enumerate ; but these councils and committees can never, except in matters of official discipline, do more than express opinions, which the minister is not bound to follow. Lastly, to supervise the army of officials under their orders in the departments, several of the ministers have a certain number of inspectors at their disposal.

Paris can boast, moreover, of a great administrative institution, which, in the intention of its founder, Napoleon I., was destined to play a much more considerable part than it actually plays to-day. The *Council of State* (*Conseil d'État*) was principally intended to enlighten the ministers with its advice in all questions touching either general legislation, or, more particularly, administrative law ; and when it was originated it had the exclusive right of elaborating the bills prepared by the Government, and of defending them before the Chambers.*

The Council of State is presided over by the Minister of Justice ; it is composed of a Vice-President, five Presidents of Sections, Councillors, Masters of Requests (*Maîtres des Requêtes*), and Auditors, all appointed by the Head of the State (the Auditors after a very severe examination), and

* The Council of State is also the highest administrative jurisdiction. In this aspect we shall find it again in Chapter VII.

removable by him at pleasure. It also includes a certain number of councillors, said to be "on special duty" (*en service extraordinaire*), who are, in fact, high government officials charged with the special defence of the interests of the department to which they belong. Lastly, all ministers can put in an appearance at its ordinary sittings on behalf of any business coming within their respective departments.

The Council is divided into sections, each of which corresponds to two or three ministerial departments. Affairs of minor importance submitted to it, such as the liquidation of retiring pensions, are definitely settled in section; important matters are first taken in hand by the proper section, and then brought before the general assembly. The Council of State gives its opinion whenever it is required to do so by Government on a bill or on any question which it is desired to submit to it. In some cases, before it can make certain regulations, Government is obliged to take the opinion of the Council; but it is never more than a mere opinion, which ministers need not follow, except when the Council is acting as a court of justice.

The Council of State was of great importance under the First Empire and during the greater part of the Second, when the Chambers had not the right of legislative initiative, nor even the right of making amendments; but since these bodies have become the real centres where laws are elaborated the Council of State has lost much of its authority and activity, except as an administrative court.

Such is the central administration of to-day, considered as a whole. Its organisation, taken all together, is logical and simple enough. If it were not overburdened with superfluous business owing to the mania there is for bringing every local question to Paris for its solution, it would form a good instrument. Unfortunately the abundance of details which it has to settle often prevents it from looking at questions from an elevated point of view.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS.

France is divided into 86 departments* ; each department into several arrondissements, each arrondissement into cantons, each canton into communes.† The department is an artificial creation of the Revolution, and results from the arbitrary parcelling out of the provinces of the *ancien régime*. The commune, on the contrary, goes farther back, and with the exception of a few communes recently created, may be said to have formed itself. The department and the commune are, or might be, the real centres of local life, for they have property of their own, a budget, and a certain amount of autonomy. The arrondissement and the canton, on the contrary, are mere administrative divisions without a real individuality, and the difference goes so far that the suppression of the arrondissements is seriously in question.

The fundamental division is that into *departments*. For most of the great public services the department is the normal division, and such of those services as by their nature and their needs comprise in their divisions a larger extent of territory than a department are organised by the joining of several departments into one and the same division. This is the case with the Army Corps, the Courts of Appeal, the Academies, the Maritime Circumscriptions,

* There are also 3 departments in Algeria. Besides this, the territory of Belfort, which used to form part of the department of the Upper Rhine, annexed by Germany in 1871, forms a circumscription to itself, with the character of a department.

† In 1886 there were 362 arrondissements, 2,871 cantons, and 36,121 communes. A law must be passed before new ones can be created. The number, the population, and the extent of these circumscriptions vary very much according to the department. The Seine, for instance, with a superficies of 119,544 acres, and 2,961,000 inhabitants, has 3 arrondissements (of which Paris is one), 28 cantons, and 74 communes ; the Gironde with 2,416,341 acres, and 775,845 inhabitants, has 6 arrondissements, 48 cantons, and 552 communes. The departments bear the names of mountains and rivers, etc. ; the other circumscriptions take the name of their chief town.

&c. The department is never partitioned, even when it is too small to form by itself a circumscription with an administrative service of its own ; it is in that case only joined on to one or several neighbouring departments.

As an administrative unit, the department naturally possesses representatives of almost all the ministries in the town which acts as its capital. Each of these representatives has under his control the official staff and the business of his service. For instance, there is a General in command of the military subdivision, a School Inspector for public instruction, a Chief Engineer of Roads and Bridges, a Paymaster-general of the Treasury, directors of taxes (direct, indirect, registration and domain-lands), of posts and telegraphs, &c. But of all the officials residing in the Departmental capital, the most important is the Prefect, who, though more particularly dependent on the Minister of the Interior, is in correspondence with all the ministers, and co-operates with all the local chiefs of special services, his co-operation taking the form of either supervising them or issuing orders to them.

The *Prefect* is an essentially political official, and as such somewhat unstable in his place, for he changes at the will of changing ministers. He is appointed without any legal conditions of capacity, and is paid a salary of from £720 to £1,200 (£2,000 being the salary at Paris). He is assisted by a secretary-general and a *prefectoral council* of three or four members, who are appointed and may be dismissed under conditions analogous to those obtaining in the case of the Prefect himself. He sometimes has to ask the Council for its opinion, but is never compelled to follow it.* The Prefect is thus essentially the representative and the agent of the central power.

He is, however, at the same time, entrusted with the

* The Prefectoral Council is also an administrative court ; we shall come across it again in Chapter VII.

management of the local interests of the department. But here he has confronting him a *Council General* chosen by universal suffrage, renewed to the extent of half its number every three years, sitting twice a year, and represented to the Prefect in the intervals between its sessions by a *permanent departmental commission*. The Councillors General are unpaid; their sittings are public; the Prefect has the right of entry to their deliberations, and is entitled to take part in them; the Council may be dissolved by the Head of the State.

As delegate of the central power, the Prefect supervises the execution of the laws, settles business of which the solution is not reserved to the central administration, and issues police regulations for the whole department, &c. As manager of the interests of the department, he executes the resolutions of the Council General, and appoints a certain number of subordinate officials, such as police commissioners, postmen, &c.

The *Council General* controls the departmental administration of the Prefect; it deliberates and passes resolutions on all that concerns the interests of the department. Generally speaking, its decisions are final. However, some of them may be suspended by a decree of the Head of the State—those, for instance, which have to do with the buying or selling of certain departmental properties, and those which fix the departmental budget, the Council General being bound to provide for certain expenses imposed on it by law. Other decisions of the Council General, in order to be carried out, have to obtain the formal assent of the higher authority. A law, for instance, is required in order to authorise the department to levy certain extraordinary taxes,*

* The State financial law annually fixes the maximum number of additional centimes (see Chapter VIII.) which the departments and the communes may impose upon themselves without special authorisation. The Council General does the same with regard to the communes in the limits of the legal maximum. To go beyond these maxima a special law is needed.

or to permit it to contract a loan when the period of repayment exceeds fifteen years. The Council General, moreover, has certain powers of control over the finances of the communes of the department. Lastly, it can express its wishes on any object of general or local interest, as long as those wishes have no political character.

As to the *Departmental Commission*, it puts into shape the work which has to come before the Council General, and definitively settles the secondary business which the law or the Council General has delegated to it.

On the whole, the departments have a tolerably large measure of independence for all their local interests. It is true that the Councils General cannot always give the final decision on what they would like to do, but at least, with some very small and unimportant exceptions, they are always free to prevent things which they do not like being done. The Department has not, however, become a great centre of local activity. Its attention is almost exclusively confined to such matters as the construction of roads, subventions to new lines of railway, the establishment of training schools (*écoles normales*), for the education of teachers in the primary schools, and a few undertakings of "public help" (*assistance publique*), such as lunatic asylums, &c. Its financial resources are, in general, rather insignificant, and it hardly ventures to develop them. This mediocrity of scale in the local existence of the department proceeds in large measure from the artificial origin of this division. The traditions of the departmental unit are not a century old.

At the chief town of the *arrondissement* there is a *sub-prefect* who is appointed and may be dismissed under conditions similar to those which obtain in the case of the prefect, and who, like him, is a political official, but without large powers of his own. In general he is only a medium (he has been derisively called a "letter box"), between

the communes and the prefecture,* and is before all things an agent of political supervision. By his side there is an *arrondissement council* (*conseil d'arrondissement*), chosen by universal suffrage; but as the *arrondissement* has neither property nor budget, nor collective interests, this council, over and above the wishes which it may express, has only one power of its own, that namely of allotting among the communes the quota of direct taxes assigned to the *arrondissement* by the council-general.† A court of first instance sits in the chief town of the *arrondissement*.‡

The *canton* also is only an administrative circumscription, and does not even possess those organs of its own which are possessed by the *arrondissement*. It is the seat of a Justice of the Peace,§ and accordingly we find exceptionally large communes sometimes divided among several cantons. It serves as recruitment-circumscription for the army, the lots being drawn there. It is the electoral unit for the elections to the Council General and to the *arrondissement council*, each *canton* being entitled to one councillor, &c. But while there has been serious question of suppressing the *arrondissement* as a useless piece of machinery, the idea on the other hand is entertained of developing the *canton* by giving it special resources and organs of its own. This reform would be the more interesting as there are in France a great number of very small communes which, owing to the inadequacy of their resources, are incapable of organising certain public services, and which would more easily perform their mission if they were associated with the other communes of the *canton*.

The 36,121 *communes* of France were subdivided as follows, from the point of view of population, in 1886:—

* The *arrondissement* of the departmental capital has no sub-prefect, but is administered directly by the prefect himself.

† See Chapter VIII. ‡ See Chapter VII. § See Chapter VII.

17,181	communes	had less than 500 inhabitants.
14,397	„ „	from 501 to 1,500 inhabitants.
2,720	„ „	„ 1,501 to 2,500 „
888	„ „	„ 2,501 to 3,500 „
463	„ „	„ 3,501 to 5,000 „
328	„ „	„ 5,001 to 10,000 „
135	„ „	„ 10,001 to 20,000 „
99	„ „	more than 20,000 inhabitants.*

All these communes, whatever their importance and their resources, and whether rural or urban, are, with the exception of Paris and Lyons, governed under the same system, and organised in the same way.

Each commune has a mayor, assisted by one or more assistants (*adjoints*) and a municipal council.

The *Mayor* is elected by and from among the members of the municipal council, for the four years during which the council lasts; the assistants, who number from one to twelve, according to the population of the commune, are elected for the same length of time and in the same way. The assistants are the mayor's deputies, and when he is present, have only the powers which he has specially delegated to them. The mayor and his assistants, though elected by the commune, and not obliged either to take the oath or to be confirmed in their functions by superior authority, are nevertheless considered in a certain measure as agents of the central power, and as such can be suspended or dismissed by superior authority. In case of dismissal they cannot be re-elected for a year.

The *Municipal Council* numbers ten to thirty-six members, according to the population of the commune;

* The smallest French commune (Morteau, in Haute Marne) has only twelve inhabitants. The superficies of these communes varies as much as their populations; it oscillates between the 254,540 acres of the commune of Arles (Bouches du Rhône) and the twenty acres of Plessix-Balisson (Côte du Nord). The territory of Arles is 12,876 times greater than that of Plessix-Balisson.

these members are elected by universal suffrage, and by *scrutin de liste*. The council is integrally re-elected every four years ; it holds four ordinary sessions annually, is presided over by the mayor, and can be dissolved by the Head of the State. The election of the new council must, in case of such dissolution, take place in two months' time, and in the interval the commune is administered by a municipal commission appointed by the prefect. The meetings of the municipal council are public. The post of municipal councillor, like that of the mayor and his assistants, is unpaid. The commune may, however, allow the mayor his expenses of official representation.

As representative of the central power the mayor is entrusted with the publication of laws and regulations, with the execution of measures for the general safety, and with special functions, such as that of registrar (making out certificates of births, marriages, and deaths). If in this capacity the mayor refuses to make out a certificate prescribed by law, the prefect, after having addressed a formal summons to him, can, in virtue of his office, either do the work himself, or entrust it to a special delegate.

The mayor is also head of the commune which he administers, and as such is under the control of the municipal council and the supervision of the prefect. His acts can be suspended or annulled by superior authority, without the latter however being able, as a rule, to take his place, except in matters of municipal police, in which, if the mayor does not discharge his duty, the prefect is authorised to act. The mayor organises the local police, and appoints its agents, subject to the approval of the prefect ;* he can issue regulations for the maintenance of public places, for fairs and markets, for rural police, &c.,

* In communes of over 40,000 inhabitants, the organisation of the police must be sanctioned by the Head of the State, and its expense is obligatory on the commune. At Paris, where the police costs nearly 25

always within the limits of the law and the prefectural regulations.

The Municipal Council settles by its deliberations the affairs of the commune, and is the medium for the expression of all wishes concerning local interests.* Its decisions may be annulled by the prefect, after consultation with his prefectural council, if they are in contravention of the law, or when members personally interested in the matter which has been decided upon (a market, for instance) have taken part in the deliberation. But, unlike the Council General, none of its decisions is final; all of them can be suspended by the prefect. The following decisions, moreover, are only valid after the formal approbation of superior authority:— (a) those which sanction the purchase or sale of lands, and which pass leases lasting more than eighteen years, both these species of decisions needing the approval of the prefect; (b) those which authorise the mayor to go to law on behalf of the commune, and which must be approved by the prefectural council; (c) those which fix the communal budget, and which have to be approved by the Head of the State if the revenue of the commune exceeds 3,000,000frs. (£120,000), and in other cases by the prefect; (d) those which establish an octroi† and which must be submitted first to the Council General, then to the State Council, and approved by the Head of the State; (e) those which prescribe certain extraordinary imposts beyond the maximum fixed by law, and for which a law is necessary, &c. &c.

As far as the communal budget is concerned, the authority empowered to approve it has equally the right, in virtue of his office, of adding to it certain expenses prescribed millions of francs (£1,000,000) the city has a grant of 7 millions from the State for this service.

* It also draws up annually a list of persons among whom the sub-prefect chooses those who have to allot the commune's quota of direct taxation among the tax-payers.

† See Chapter VIII.

by law, when, for instance, the municipal council has neglected to provide in its budget for the cost of police in towns of more than 40,000 souls, for the expenses of primary education, for those of by-roads (*chemins vicinaux*), for those of important repairs to communal buildings—under which head are included the churches, if these latter have not sufficient resources of their own—for the lodging expenses of ministers of religion when the commune has no clergy-house and the church cannot provide one, &c.

In certain cases specified by law, and in accordance with certain prescribed forms, a commune can enter into relations with one or more neighbouring communes, in order to settle matters of common interest. But in principle all relations between communes, as between departments, are forbidden.

This typical organisation admits only of two exceptions, which are explained by the importance of the towns to which they are applied.

At *Lyon* the municipal council comprises 54 members. The town is divided into 6 municipal arrondissements, to each of which 2 of the 12 assistants (*adjoints*), with powers determined by a regulation issued by the Head of the State, are specially attached. Both mayor and assistants are elected by the Municipal Council, but the police is under the control not of the mayor, but of the prefect of the Rhône.

In *Paris* the organisation of the town and that of the department are altogether exceptional.

In the first place, there are two prefects instead of one. The Prefect of the Seine has not, however, the powers of general police which habitually devolve upon prefects. But he has, what other prefects have not, the management of the municipal interests of the city of Paris, where he discharges the functions of a central mayor. The Prefect of Police possesses the powers of departmental and municipal

police, and takes his orders direct from the Minister of the Interior.

The Council General of the Seine is composed of the Municipal Council of Paris, and of eight councillors elected by each of the eight suburban cantons.* This council has no departmental commission, and its powers are more restricted than those of the other councils; no loan, for instance, can be contracted by it without a special law.

The Municipal Council of Paris is composed of eighty members, elected by direct suffrage for three years, in the proportion of one member per Quarter.† The city is divided into twenty municipal arrondissements, with four quarters each. Each arrondissement has a mayor and three coadjutors appointed by the Head of the State, who cannot be members of the Municipal Council, and who are charged with minor functions (registry of births, deaths, and marriages, the administration of charity, &c.), under the authority of the Prefect of the Seine, who discharges the functions of central mayor. The Municipal Council elects its own official staff (*bureau*); its powers are more restricted than those of the other municipal councils, notably in respect of loans, for which legislative authorisation is always necessary.

It is certain that no comparison can be made between the different communes of France. Some of the rural ones are rich in landed property; others, like Paris, have large revenues (*revenus mobiliers*) proceeding from direct taxation

* The suburban portion of the department of the Seine is divided into two arrondissements, those of Sceaux and St. Denis; but these arrondissements have neither sub-prefect nor court of first instance of their own.

† Till 1871 Paris had no elective council; it was administered by a committee appointed by the Government. At present the right is demanded of electing a central mayor possessing the powers of police, an arrangement which would not, perhaps, be without danger for the public powers, whose seat is Paris.

or octroi duties ; others are excessively poor, and only maintain themselves with difficulty, even with the help of the subventions accorded to them by the State or the department. The determination to apply the same organisation to all alike was certainly a mistake, for a good number of them do not possess the necessary number of competent individuals to fill elective posts to advantage, and the organisation of the police, particularly in rural districts, has suffered much thereby. It would undeniably have been better to leave the communes more liberty for the management of their purely local interests, and to deprive them *per contra* of all power over a service which affects the general interest so much as does the service of the police. But, whatever may be thought of these faults of organisation, which arise from the desire for uniformity inherent in the French mind, it is easy to bring out the general characteristics of the institutions which we have thus described.

Partly by the authority which it exercises directly on the mayors, partly by the stringent tutelage in which it holds the communes, in all that concerns the administration of their property, the State makes itself continually and actively felt in local government. When the system originated, at the beginning of the century, such a state of things was quite natural, since all the institutions of the country had the absolutism of the central power for their base ; in our day, now that the elective principle has been implanted in the communes, one is surprised that the State should still be so vigilant and distrustful a guardian (*tuteur*) for them. It is to be remarked, however, that this very *tutelage* is rendered for the present necessary—or, at least, conceivably might be so if it was well exercised—by the very application of democratic ideas to the life of the communes.

The administration of the communes, in fact, like that of the departments and of the State itself, has passed from the hands of absolutism into those of democracy ;

and the rapidity of the change, for which no sufficient preparation had been made, did not allow of the formation of a class of local administrators in whom it was possible to repose entire confidence. The aristocratic or middle classes have everywhere been supplanted by the unmitigated democracy, and if the representatives of this last were not subjected to a tolerably stringent tutelage, it is not unlikely that the financial future of the communes would speedily be compromised. From this point of view the tutelage of the State may for the moment be regarded as a necessary evil. But it is certainly an evil, or at least a danger. At one time it may be exercised by narrow minds, too fearful of novelty not to put obstacles in the way of enterprises often, no doubt, venturesome, but sometimes intelligent, which the great communes could otherwise have undertaken; on the other hand—and this has happened in recent years, particularly where the building of schools and making of roads are concerned—the agents of the central administration, in order to please the Government, sometimes stimulate the communes beyond measure, and induce them to undertake extravagant expenditure by promising them the help and the favours of the State.

The commune, none the less, remains, except in a few little anæmic centres, a true focus of local life. Its activity touches everything; means of communication, popular education, religious questions, economic questions, are, all alike, within its province,* and with time it will certainly become the best educational instrument of the democracy.

Among all the communal services, one of the most interesting is that of "*public help*" (*assistance publique*), or charity. A few words on this subject must come here, as we shall have no opportunity of recurring to it.

It is not exact to say that this "*public help*" is a communal service; in the main it is so, but not exclusively.

* See Chapters IV., V., and VIII.

Besides the supervision which it exercises by its inspectors over all public charitable establishments, the State is the direct supporter of a certain number of asylums. The blind-asylums of the Quinze-Vingts and of the Jeunes Aveugles at Paris; the asylums for deaf mutes of Paris, Bordeaux, and Chambéry; and the lunatic asylum of Charenton are among such State establishments. The State also takes its part in "public help," either by extraordinary grants, in case of exceptional calamity, or by grants and subsidies forming a regular portion of the budget.

On its side, the Department is obliged by law to make itself responsible for lunatics and foundlings, and for the supervision of infants put out to nurse. It discharges these duties either by directly maintaining the different establishments required, or by subsidising private institutions, and the maintenance of infants and of the sick is partly chargeable to departmental funds, partly to those of the communes or of the State, according to circumstances. Over and above this compulsory expenditure, the Department not unfrequently takes upon itself optional expenses of "public help;" for instance, it organises a service of gratuitous medical attendance in country districts, or it establishes a poor-house where beggars can be confined by simple administrative order, and where they are compelled to work.

But it is the Commune first and foremost which provides for "public help;" each commune being in principle responsible for the relief of its own poor. It must, however, be noted that with the exception of lunatics and infants, individuals have no positive right to help. The help given by the communes is in its nature optional. Nevertheless, as private initiative is always somewhat slow in France, and has, moreover, long been regarded with distrust by the authorities, it is as a rule the communes which maintain hospitals for the sick, and asylums for the old, the infirm, and the incurable. More-

over, outdoor relief (*secours à domicile*) is in most cases distributed by "boards of charity" (*bureaux de bienfaisance*) the majority of whose members are chosen by the administration, and which are controlled by the municipal councils and supervised by the higher administration. When hospitals, refuges, and boards of charity exist, they have a civil existence distinct from the commune, that is, they can possess property of their own, go to law in their corporate capacity, &c.* Certain special resources are, moreover, reserved to them—to the hospitals and asylums a succession duty on the personal property of those who die in them, and to the boards of charity, the produce of a special tax (*droit des pauvres*) levied on the gross receipts made by public spectacles (theatrical performances, &c.) given in the commune, as well as the right of receiving and distributing all benefactions made to the commune for the poor.

It is estimated that the different official establishments of "public help" spend about 120,000,000 francs (£4,800,000) in an ordinary year for the sick and poor. Of this sum the service of "public help" at Paris accounts for more than a third. The budget of this last service was as follows in 1885:—

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Francs.		Francs.
Income of property owned by the service of "public help" ...	6,000,000	Administration ...	2,500,000
Dues on theatrical performances, cemeteries, &c. ...	3,500,000	Management of revenues ...	500,000
Miscellaneous ...	6,000,000	Hospitals ...	30,000,000
Income of benefactions for special purposes	1,000,000	Various expenses ...	2,000,000
Subsidy of the Municipal council ...	18,500,000	Extraordinary expenses ...	5,500,000
Sale of capital ...	3,000,000		
	<hr/> 38,000,000		<hr/> 40,500,000

* In 1886 the boards of charity had an annual revenue of 35,000,000 frs. (£1,400,000) of their own, without reckoning voluntary gifts.

The service of "public help" in Paris maintains twenty-two hospitals and three refuges for aged poor; outdoor relief given through the boards of charity cost 8,500,000 francs (£340,000) in 1885.

In the whole of France there were 1,684 hospitals or asylums in 1883, with 143,796 beds, which spent 113,000,000 francs (£4,520,000) and relieved 448,800 sick persons. During the same year 14,485 boards of charity distributed 37,000,000 francs (£1,480,000) to 1,405,000 individuals.

Of course by the side of these public charitable services there are a very large number of private charitable institutions in all parts of France; but in order to avoid possible abuses, these institutions—like all other associations in France—must obtain administrative authorisation. Moreover, they have no corporate rights (*la personnalité civile*), that is, the right of owning property, &c., unless they are recognised as establishments of public utility, and as such subjected to special supervision.

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS :—Present Religious Condition.—Liberty of Conscience, and of Public Worship ; religions recognised by the State.—The Catholic Church : its Struggles with the Civil Power ; the Concordat of 1801 ; organisation of Catholic Worship ; Secular Clergy ; Cathedrals ; Religious Communities ; *Appel comme d'abus*.—Reformed and Lutheran Churches.—Jewish Church.—Mahometan Church.

PRESENT RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Is France a religious country ? It is very difficult to give a positive reply to this question. Talk with individual Frenchmen of any class, and we shall almost always find (with the exception of the provinces of Brittany, where faith is strongly rooted), a scepticism readily passing into mockery and bordering on indifference, on the subject of religious questions. On the other hand, anyone who enters a church or a temple* at the hours of service will generally find them filled with worshippers. Ask a peasant his feelings towards his priest, and he will show a certain inveterate distrust of the priestly garb ; but the same peasant will be married and buried by the Church, and will have his children baptised and confirmed. Finally, a general view of contemporary French history will show that there are few countries where the struggle between the civil power and religious authority has been more constant ; few in which first the

* Protestant churches in France are called " temples."

liberal, then the democratic movement, has had a more anti-religious tendency; few where greater contradiction is to be met with between the external habits of the citizens and the slow and continuous mental cleavage which has come about between them and the Church. This complex situation arises from the fact that the religious question has been constantly entangled in the present century with political questions, and that most civil and social reforms have been carried out at the expense and despite the opposition of the Catholic Church. A short sketch of the history of this Church in France will make this clear.

The large majority of France is Catholic. In 1872 there were 35,500,000 Catholics (that is, 980 per 1,000 inhabitants), 581,000 Protestants (of whom 468,000 were Calvinists, 80,000 Lutherans, and 33,000 belonging to other sects),* 50,000 Jews,† 3,071 persons belonging to other forms of worship, and 82,000 returned as without any religious belief. Like all Catholic countries, France has had a hard task to establish liberty of conscience, and a hard task, too, to settle its relations with the Church of Rome.

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND OF WORSHIP.

For a long time the Catholic party was predominant, and used its power to proscribe dissenters, or, at least, to refuse them the exercise of full civil rights. After the Reformation and the politico-religious wars which dyed the country with blood in the sixteenth century, Henry IV.

* The Protestants, who are 16 per 1,000 inhabitants, are chiefly to be found in the departments of Drôme, Doubs, Deux Sèvres, Ardèche, Lozère, and Gard, where they represent more than ten per cent. of the population.

† Since 1872 no further official religious statistics have been compiled. It is probable that the proportion has not varied, the movement of conversions being almost nil. In 1885 the official statistics of the Jews gave 63,000, 42,000 of whom were in Paris or its neighbourhood. There are 43,000 Jews in Algeria.

issued in 1598 the famous Edict of Nantes. This edict insured to the Protestants freedom of worship in certain specified towns, Paris being excluded ; it opened to them all official posts, and gave them judges of their own persuasion in the High Courts of Justice. On the other hand, they had to observe the festivals of the Church of Rome, to conform to the canonical laws recognised in France on the subject of marriage, and to pay tithes.

Religious peace was thus insured for a time, but from the beginning of the following century the Protestants laid claim to political independence, and in 1629 Cardinal Richelieu, then First Minister, had to bring them to reason, without, however, assailing their religious freedom. Unfortunately, matters did not stop there. Louis XIV., in his desire to make everything bow to his sovereign will, and to have his sins forgiven in return for his zeal in upholding the interests of the Catholic Church, revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and set on foot an odious persecution against the Protestants, the results of which were conversions by force or bribery, and the emigration of those who remained true to their faith. This state of things lasted, with divers vicissitudes, up to the eve of the Revolution. As late as 1787 no marriage was recognised as valid which had not been contracted before a Catholic priest. At this period an edict of Louis XVI. empowered non-Catholics to marry, and to have their births and deaths registered before a civil judge ; they were also allowed the full enjoyment of their property, and the right to exercise every profession, with the exception of the magistracy, municipal offices, and public education.

The Revolution proclaimed, and later laws gave formal sanction to freedom of conscience. "No man may be molested on account of his opinions, even on religion," ran the Declaration of Rights, "so long as their manifestation does not disturb the public order by law established." And one of the

first measures taken to insure the application of this maxim was to give the register (*actes de l'état civil*) an organisation absolutely independent of the clergy. Declarations of births and deaths are made before the mayors. It is the mayors who celebrate marriages, thereby insuring to them complete civil validity. Citizens are now, therefore, free to have recourse to any religious service for baptisms, burials, or nuptial ceremonies; but they are not obliged to do so, and in any case the civil ceremony must always precede the religious one. No authority can oblige a citizen to adopt or abandon a religion: the father only, in virtue of his paternal power, can decide the religion of his children during their minority. Religious instruction is no longer compulsory in public schools; in primary public schools it is actually forbidden. Religious belief forms no obstacle to the eligibility of any man to public office. The keeping of Sunday is not compulsory. If the formula of the oath imposed on witnesses in criminal proceedings still implies a religious idea, and contains the name of God, it does not involve adhesion to any form of worship.

Such are the regulations which safe-guard individual freedom of conscience at the present day. But these regulations have been introduced into the public law of France only by degrees, and the Catholic Church contended against each one of them. Long after the Revolution, the Church claimed the exclusive right, above all where marriage was concerned, of keeping the register (*la rédaction des actes de l'état civil*). Her dogmas representing marriage as indissoluble, she obtained the suppression of divorce after it had been authorised by the Civil Code, and did all she could to prevent its being re-instituted in 1884. She fought heroic battles to obtain, and then to keep the direction of public education. She tried to compel the keeping of Sunday. Never has she been willing to admit that her rights were sufficiently safe-guarded when she was given

the power to refuse religious marriage to a Catholic who had been divorced by the civil law, or the power of opening a free and religious school, side by side with the secular schools of the State or of the communes. In a word, each of these reforms met with the Church's ardent opposition, and she has always declared herself persecuted when the State refused to give her the preponderance she claimed.

Individual liberty of conscience is one thing, *liberty to carry on a form of worship publicly* is another. If every citizen has the right to carry out the observances of his religion at home so long as they are neither contrary to law nor to morality,* it does not necessarily follow that he has the right to assemble his fellow worshippers publicly. On this point the common law regulates meetings and associations of all sorts;† while *religions recognised by the State* are dealt with by special legislation.

Two preliminary observations are here necessary. The recognition of a form of worship by the State does not mean that there is a State religion, or that such a religion enjoys a monopoly, or is paid by the State. There is to-day no State religion, and even when there was one, as under the Charter of 1814, the State recognised the Protestant and Jewish faiths in addition to Catholicism. On the other hand the ministers of the former, though recognised since 1808, have only received payment from the State since 1831. To-day, however, all recognised forms of worship are paid by Government.

A recognised form of religion is organised and protected by the law; its public meetings are absolutely free, when they are held in the places set apart for them and under

* Polygamy, for instance, would not be allowed in France even for a Mohammedan. On the other hand in the Colonies, such as Algeria, where France has respected the beliefs and the customs of the natives, that practice does not in the case of Mohammedans constitute a crime.

† See Chapter II., page 81.

the direction of its ministers, except of course so far as the general rights of repression belonging to the State when the law is violated are concerned. Disturbances of its public worship are punishable. The right of owning property is accorded to certain ecclesiastical communities (parishes, bishoprics, &c.) Ministers of religion have certain privileges (their stipend, the right of pleading professional secrecy, dispensation from military service, &c). In return, the State supervises and controls the administration of its ecclesiastical property, the publication of ecclesiastical decisions, the appointment and discipline of ministers.

Such are the general effects of the recognition of a religion, or, if the term be preferred, of its establishment as a public service. There are at the present day four religions in this position: Catholic, Protestant (Reformed and Lutheran), Jewish, and Mohammedan, the latter in Algeria only. Each of them follows special rules necessarily derived from its nature and its history.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The relations between the Catholic Church and the State have given rise to endless struggles between, first the Crown, then post-Revolutionary France on the one hand, and the Papacy on the other. Even at the present day the form of those relations is unceasingly contested. The Radical party aims at the separation of the Churches and the State, that is, the suppression pure and simple of the public worship estimates, and that much more in order to inflict a blow upon the Catholic Church than for any other reason. It is possible that some day or other the existing state of things may undergo modification, particularly if, as seems probable, the Vatican makes friends with Italy in such a way as to become a political instrument for the latter; but it is

none the less interesting to show what this state of things is, and how it has been reached.

Till 1516 the rights and privileges of the Catholic Church were regulated by unilateral ordinances of the French kings on the one hand, and of the Papacy on the other. Thence came perpetual quarrels which resulted, now in war, now in the humiliation of the royal power, now in that of the spiritual power. In 1516 Francis I. concluded with Pope Leo X. the first Concordat; this treaty formally recognised the king's right to nominate bishops and abbés, the Pope having only to confer upon them canonical investiture. The royal edicts of 1576 and 1580 determined the other rights of the civil power in relation to the Church. The clergy had their special assemblies, the decisions of which were submitted to the royal sanction, and the archbishops could convoke provincial councils in order to assure ecclesiastical discipline. The appeal, however, to a secular court (*appel comme d'abus*)—i.e. to the Parliaments—enabled the Government to control the proceedings of such assemblies; the civil power could, in certain cases (non-residence, refusal to provide for the expenses of Divine service) lay hands upon the temporalities of bishops or curés; the privileged exemptions of the churches had to obtain the king's consent; strict limits and vigilant control were imposed upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In fine, without withdrawing the Church from the spiritual authority of the Pope, the whole effort of the Crown was to prevent this authority from becoming political, and to secure that the French clergy, who formed one of the three orders of the kingdom, who did not regularly pay taxes, but only made more or less voluntary contributions to the State, when they were specially asked for them, and who, lastly, had the right of exacting tithes for their necessities, should not become too formidable to the royal power.

Louis XIV. wanted to go further in this direction and to

reduce the Pope's authority to its simplest expression, while affirming at the same time the principle that he alone was qualified to decide as sovereign on the status of the Church. At his initiative the Assembly of the French clergy proclaimed in 1682 the liberties of the Gallican Church. "Kings and sovereigns," so ran the wording, "are, by the Divine command, subject to no ecclesiastical power in things temporal." The authority of general councils was solemnly recognised, as were the laws and customs of the French Church. Lastly, while admitting that the Pope had the "principal share in matters of faith," it was laid down that "his decision, however, is not absolutely binding (*irréformable*) unless the consent of the Church be given."

Pope Innocent XI. condemned this declaration, which in fact constituted an attempt at schism. Perhaps if Louis XIV. had insisted, a purely national church might at length have been founded in France; but he gave way, under the influence of some of those religious pre-occupations which had led him to revoke the Edict of Nantes. The Declaration of 1682 remained, but its provisions were frequently disregarded during the eighteenth century, and that despite the frequent quarrels which took place between France and the Papacy. In practice men contented themselves with following pretty closely the principles of ecclesiastical law proclaimed in the sixteenth century, while continuing at the same time to inculcate the far more audacious maxims of 1682. The most notable event of the century was the expulsion of the Jesuits by the Crown in 1762; the latter had always maintained its right to authorise, to reform, or to suppress religious orders or communities, and it rigorously employed the right against the Company of Jesus, which, by its encroachments and its teaching, by its aspirations to the establishment, if need were by force, of religious uniformity, and by its fixed purpose of making the royal power subservient

to that mission, had become a downright danger to the State.

The Revolution made for the time being a clean sweep of all monarchical traditions. The Church had hitherto lived either by the rent of its lands or by the income derived from tithes. Tithes were abolished. As for Church lands, the Constituent Assembly being short of funds declared that they were national property, and ordered them to be sold for the benefit of the State. In return, divine service was declared a public function, and a stipend was promised to ministers of religion. Men forgot that in thus depriving the priests of the administration of their property—an administration which necessarily tended to identify their interests with those of lay society—and in transforming them into salaried agents, they were bequeathing to the near future the dissolution of the ties which bound the priests to the polity of France, and were making them the docile tools of the Papacy. Soon another step was taken. The Constituent Assembly claimed its right to give an internal constitution to the Church as it had given one to France, and to impose upon the first the democratic principles which the second asked for. The Civil Constitution of the clergy, which was made without the assent of the spiritual power, decided that bishops and curés should henceforth be elected by the citizens, that it should no longer be necessary for bishops to receive canonical institution from the Pope, and that in each episcopal diocese the assembly of priests should decide ecclesiastical questions in the last resort.

This constitution, which ran counter to all the traditions of the Catholic Church, was not accepted by her; a part only of the French clergy assented to it, the rest, supported by the Pope, rejected it. Persecution speedily broke out, and in 1793 the National Convention suppressed the stipends even of those priests who had accepted

the Civil Constitution. An attempt was made by the new Government to create in France a new religious worship, styled the religion of Reason, or, at a later period, of the Supreme Being—an attempt which was rendered abortive by its sheer absurdity. When the Revolution came to an end, France had as much need of religious as of social peace, and one of the first cares of Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, was to sign with Pope Pius VII. the Concordat of 1801.

THE CONCORDAT OF 1801 is to this day the basis of the constitution of the Catholic Church. Under the Bourbons the Ultramontane party could not induce the Chambers to modify it to the advantage of the Church; in our day the Radical party has not yet succeeded in getting it abrogated. This treaty, which in its origin was a treaty of peace, is still regarded by the majority of Frenchmen as giving sufficient guarantees of independence to the Church, and as assuring to the State almost complete security against any future encroachments of the spiritual power. It is to be observed that most of the principles which inspired it were borrowed from the maxims of the old monarchy. Its application has been more or less liberal, more or less tolerant as regards the Church in accordance with the changes and chances of politics.

The Concordat of 1801 provides that neither the Pope nor his successors shall in any way disturb purchasers of Church lands. The Government, in its turn, is bound to guarantee a "suitable" stipend to bishops and curés, and to authorise the private endowment of churches. The Head of the State is endued with the rights and prerogatives enjoyed by the old kings of France in their relations with the Holy See. He is to appoint the bishops, who will then be instituted by the Pope; the bishops are to appoint the vicars-general, canons, and curés, who must be approved by the Government, and who are irremovable. Vicars and curates are to be chosen by the bishop

of the diocese, and are to be removable. In every case French nationality is to be a *sine quâ non*.

When it promulgated the Concordat the French Government, following the example of the monarchy in the sixteenth century, added to it a certain number of provisions known as ORGANIC ARTICLES, which, besides making several regulations for the administration of the churches, laid down the following prescriptions: The publication of Papal bulls and decrees of councils in France without the express authorisation of the Government was forbidden, and a similar authorisation was required before nuncios and apostolical legates could exercise any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican Church.* The appeal to a secular court (*appel comme d'abus*) was re-established, and brought before the Council of State. Bishops were given the right to maintain seminaries for the training of young priests, but the rules of those establishments were to be subject to the approbation of Government, and professors had to teach the Declaration of 1682 in them. No national council, no metropolitan or diocesan synod was to be held without state authorisation.

It is in accordance with these principles that the Catholic Church is now governed. The French and Algerian territories are divided into 87 DIOCESES, nearly one to each department, although the ecclesiastical boundary does not always correspond with the civil, and the bishops often reside in a town which is not the departmental capital. There are 18 metropolitan archbishoprics, and 69 suffragan bishoprics† for the 87 dioceses. Archbishops have a stipend of 15,000 francs (£600), bishops 10,000 francs (£400); they are surrounded by a certain number of vicars-general and a chapter of canons. Each diocese is

* France maintains an ambassador at the Vatican; the Pope has a nuncio at Paris.

† Each archbishop has authority over several bishops in his vicinity; but this authority is more nominal than real.

divided into a certain number of CURES or PARISHES. As a rule, there is one per canton with a curé at its head. Each parish, moreover, has several branches or curacies (one per commune), served by curates. The budget of 1887 gives 192 vicars-general for France, 709 canons, and 3,437 curés with salaries of from 1,200 to 1,500 francs (£48 to £60); and 31,102 curates receiving from 900 to 1,300 francs (£36 to £52). For Algeria there are 374 priests with a stipend of from 1,800 to 2,400 francs* (£72 to £96). The communes are obliged to lodge their priests, or pay them an equivalent; they may supplement their salary.

The CHURCHES, which the Revolution had declared national property, have been restored to religious purposes. The cathedral churches of the dioceses belong to the State,† parochial churches and chapels to the communes;

* A statistical table of January 1, 1884, gave 54,513 priests of all denominations in France, including, it is true, chaplains, priests without official employment, &c., and 10,500 pupils of diocesan seminaries.

† Some of the cathedrals are admirable monuments of Romanesque and Gothic art. Those of Angoulême, Autun, Avignon, Périgueux, Le Puy, and Valence are Romanesque churches; those of Langres and Tulle belong to the Romano-Gothic style called Transitional; those of Angers, Chartres, Paris, Poitiers, and Soissons belong to the Gothic style at its birth. The cathedral churches of Amiens, Bourges, Châlons, Coutances, Dijon, Reims, and Sées are types of the early Gothic style. St. Michel o Carcassonne and the Cathedral of Albi are of the fourteenth century; Auch, St. Flour, Perpignan, Quimper, Blois, and Orléans are flamboyant Gothic. Others are Greco-Roman buildings (Arras, Montauban, Nancy, Rennes, La Rochelle, Versailles, Airc, and Pamiers), or combine Romanesque and Gothic (Bayeux, Le Mans, Nevers). Those of Lyons and Toulouse combine the transition style with various Gothic styles; those of Bordeaux and Clermont unite the styles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; those of Bayonne, Meaux, Rouen, Rodez, Tours, and Troyes display every variety of the pointed style, from choir to façade. The Cathedral of Marseilles, which is quite modern, has been built in the Byzantine style. The cathedrals which best realise the Gothic type are those of Amiens, Chartres, Clermont, and Reims. Those of Bourges, Clermont, Meaux, and Paris have five naves, while others, though ranking among great buildings, have but a single nave. The finest façades are those of Paris and Reims, the finest naves those of Bourges and Amiens, the finest choirs those of Le Mans and Beauvais, and

and both State and communes are obliged to provide for them within certain limits. But churches may have resources of their own, as they are permitted to receive and retain endowments. Both bishopric and cure can also possess property under the name of "episcopal mensa" and "curial mensa." Each church is under the control of a vestry composed of the curé and the mayor as *ex-officio* members, and of from five to nine co-optative vestrymen. The vestry determines the budget of the church under the control and with the optional concurrence of the Municipal Council. The trusteeship of these divers ecclesiastical corporations is exercised directly by the central administration, which gives the necessary authorisations for sale or purchase. Before taking any legal proceedings, a vestry must obtain the authorisation of the prefectural council.

The diocesan SEMINARIES are of two kinds: the large seminaries, where young priests are trained; the small seminaries, or ecclesiastical secondary schools, which serve as preparatory schools for the former. Both enjoy civil personality (*la personnalité civile*).^{*} Till late years there were Catholic faculties of theology at the University, but as the degrees conferred by these faculties were not necessary for admission to the priesthood they had scarcely any pupils, and they have been suppressed.

Such is the organisation of the secular clergy. The cost to the State of the service of the Catholic worship in 1887 was forty-five million francs (£1,800,000).

the finest spires those of Chartres. The longest cathedral, that of Reims, is 489 feet long; the widest nave, that of Toulouse, is 72 feet; the highest vault, that of Beauvais, is 154 feet (197 feet, with the roof); the highest spire, that of Rouen, is 485 feet. Bourges, Chartres, Nevers, and Périgueux have crypts. The finest stained glass windows are those of Angers, Auch, Bourges, Châlons, Chartres, Clermont, Coutances, Evreux, Limoges, Le Mans, Metz, Moulins, Poitiers, Reims, Rouen, Sées, Sens, Soissons, Strasbourg, Tours, and Troyes.

^{*} *I.e.*, they may hold property of their own.

But apart from the secular clergy, one of the great questions raised in a State by the existence of the Catholic Church is that of the regular clergy or RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. In France, as we have said, the State has at all time kept a very watchful eye on the formation and the existence of these communities. On the one hand the State incurs peril and loss by the foundation of these associations, which, by their perpetual mortmain, constitute an enormous landed interest; on the other hand, there is the fear that an excessive number of citizens may be lost to ordinary life by immuring themselves for ever in the life of contemplation. The Revolution suppressed the convents; these have been since re-established, but it need hardly be said that, whatever may be the vows, perpetual or non-perpetual, taken by the members of the religious community, in no case could the civil authority interfere to compel their observance. Nowadays every individual is free to leave a convent if he pleases.

From the legal point of view, the question of religious communities is very complicated, and has given rise in the present century to very hot discussions. The Concordat says nothing about them; Napoleon I. authorised a few of them; under the Bourbons, the Ultramontane party made an effort to obtain official recognition for them—an effort which succeeded only in part. The present situation is as follows:—

A religious community of women may be recognised by law when it establishes itself for the first time in France; by a decree of the Head of the State, if it only founds a branch of a mother-house already known: once recognised, it enjoys civil personality under the control of the State.

Unrecognised female religious communities and all male religious communities, excepting those of the Lazarists and of the Brothers of the Christian Schools* (both of which

* Frères des écoles Chrésiennes.

were authorised by Napoleon I.), exist by mere administrative toleration—a toleration intermittent in its character, for the Government has several times proceeded to dissolve existing religious communities by a mere decree of the Executive power, without consulting Parliament. In 1828, for instance, the Jesuits were refused liberty to teach, and some of their communities were broken up. They received the same treatment in 1880, a proof that they had gone back to their monasteries, and at the same date all male religious communities were dissolved. It is said that the Jesuits have already been reconstituted. The communities are, in fact, extremely clever, especially with regard to their property. In strict law an unrecognised community can possess no property; yet, as a matter of fact, under cover of certain legal technicalities, they have succeeded in assuring themselves the possession of a very great estate.

There are no exact statistics as to the number of persons in religious communities. It is only known that in 1883 11,000 sisters were employed in hospitals, and 18,000 members of communities, men and women, in the primary schools.*

In spite of the apparent restrictions which seem to shackle the liberty of the Catholic Church, it may be said that, as an organisation, if not by the hold it has upon the masses, this church constitutes in our day a more formidable power for the State than in the past. The priests have no longer any ties, or hardly any, with lay society in France; the removability of the greater number of them puts them at the discretion of their bishops, who themselves obey the Pope, and have lost the traditions of independence of the old Gallican Church. As to the Pope, the French Government has no longer the power it formerly possessed of seizing his temporal estates to force concessions from him, since the Papal States exist no longer. It is almost solely by its hold

* See Chapter V.

on the budget of Public Worship, and by the threat of its suppression, that the State can put an occasional restraint upon the tendencies of the clergy to intermeddling in politics.

THE APPEAL TO A SECULAR COURT (*appel comme d'abus*) is, in spite of its solemnity, a somewhat illusory procedure ever since the means of publicity have become so numerous. It can be employed against a minister of the Catholic worship for usurpation or excess of power (encroachment of the spiritual authority on the domain of the temporal authority), for violation of the laws and regulations of the State, for breach of the canonical rules which are regularly published in France, for outrage on the liberties of the Gallican Church as formulated in 1682, and for any undertaking whatever which, in the "performance of religious duties, is capable of compromising the honour of the citizens, arbitrarily troubling their conscience, or degenerating into a means of oppression, injury, or public scandal to them."* The Council of State examines the case, after which a decree of the Head of the State decides whether "any abuse has taken place." But what is this declaration of the existence of abuse? A public censure, and nothing else. In certain cases, no doubt, it is possible to order the destruction of the thing incriminated—that of an episcopal charge, for instance—but when destroyed, the charge has already been printed, posted, distributed, and read. Only when the "abusive fact" at the same time constitutes a breach of the penal law are more serious sanctions at hand. This tremendous apparatus offers, then, but indifferent guarantees. The Catholic Church is almost absolutely free to speak, if not to act, as she pleases, and she has often proved it.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

The organisation of the Protestant churches raises no

* Conversely, the law can be appealed to in favour of a recognised religion against any person who has assailed its exercise or the freedom of its ministers.

political questions. Besides the fact that Protestantism, whether Calvinist or Lutheran, is essentially democratic, and, having no external hierarchy, can readily form a national church, it is easy in a country where it has so few adherents as in France to make suitable arrangements for its government. This government was fixed in 1801, and has hardly been altered since.

There are two Protestant forms of worship recognised by the State—the Reformed, or Calvinist worship, and the Lutheran, or that of the Confession of Augsburg. Each has its special constitution, but certain rules are common to both. The pastors must be Frenchmen, and must have been approved by the Government; there is no hierarchy; no change in dogma or innovation in church discipline can be introduced without the authorisation of the Government; wherever the State maintains one or more pastors there is a parish. As the Protestants are disseminated everywhere about the country, their ecclesiastical boundaries have no correlation with the ordinary administrative divisions.

THE REFORMED CHURCH is organised according to the presbyterian and synodal system. Each *parish* has a council of presbyters, composed of the pastor and of lay members elected by the congregation. Several parishes are grouped into a circumscription, called a *consistory*, with an assembly composed of the council of presbyters of the chief town, of the pastor, and one lay delegate from each parish. There are 101 of such consistories, which are distributed, five by five, into *provincial synods* with an assembly composed of a pastor and lay delegate from each church. The holding of general synods is occasionally authorised. The parishes and consistories enjoy civil personality; the council of presbyters administers the parish under the control of the consistory. The latter appoints the pastors, and looks after church discipline, always subject to the approbation of Government. The synods concern themselves with doctrine

and its teaching, subject to the same approbation. There is, moreover, at Paris a Central Council of the Reformed Churches, the members of which are appointed by the Government, and which has consultative powers. In 1887 the State paid salaries of 1,800 to 3,000 francs (£72—£120) to 638 Reformed pastors, while 20 pastors in Algeria receive from 3,500 to 4,000 francs (£140—£160). Altogether, the Reformed Religion costs 1,350,000 francs (£54,000).*

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH has only sixty-two pastors divided among six consistories, these consistories being grouped into two *special synods* (Paris and Montbéliard). The special synods appoint ecclesiastical inspectors to supervise the pastors and the churches, and possess a kind of permanent delegation or synodal committee. Contrary to the practice of the Reformed Church, its *general synod*, composed of the pastors and of twice as great a number of laymen, holds periodical meetings; it is moreover represented to the Government by a permanent executive commission. For the rest, its organisation is the same as that of the Reformed Church. Its maintenance costs the State about 150,000 francs (£6,000) a year.

There are two *Faculties of Protestant Theology*, to which seminaries are attached at Paris and Montauban. The first is common to both forms of Protestantism, the latter is exclusively Calvinist. The two together cost the State about 120,000 francs (£4,800). If they have not yet been suppressed, like the Catholic Faculties, the reason is that according to the law, it is necessary, in order to become a pastor, to possess the degree of Bachelor in Theology, which is conferred by these Faculties only. But it is

* The Reformed Church does not possess unity of faith. Several consistories, of which that of Nîmes is the most important, belong to the doctrine called Liberal, while the majority is Orthodox, *i.e.*, it has accepted the Liturgy of the General Synod of 1874.

probable that they will not be maintained much longer, and that the attempt will be made to organise the recruitment of the Protestant clergy on a different basis.

JEWISH CHURCH.

The Jewish worship received a regular organisation from the State for the first time in 1808. The *synagogues* or Jewish parishes are divided among nine departmental consistories (Paris, Bordeaux, Nancy, Marseilles, Bayonne, Lyons, Lille, Vesoul, and Besançon), and three consistories in Algeria. These consistories administer and provide for the orderly management of the synagogues in their circumscription.* There is a rabbi to each synagogue (twenty-seven in all, including Algeria), assisted by an officiating minister, and one grand rabbi to each consistory. The *central consistory* of Paris, with a special grand rabbi, has the supreme authority, but the election of its members and its decisions are subject to the approbation of the Government. The ministers of the Jewish religion are paid stipends, varying from 600 francs, or £24 (officiating minister), to 12,000 francs, or £480 (grand rabbi of the central consistory). In Paris there is a Jewish seminary maintained by the State for the training of ministers. The total annual cost to the State of the Jewish Church is about 190,000 francs (£7,600).

MAHOMETAN CHURCH.

The Mahometan worship in Algeria costs about 220,000 francs (£8,800).

* The Jewish population of the different consistorial circumscriptions is as follows:—Paris, 50,000; Nancy, 4,500; Bordeaux, 3,500; Lyons, 2,200; Marseilles, 5,300; Bayonne, 2,500; Vesoul, 3,500; Lille, 2,800; Besançon, 2,600; Algiers, 15,000; Constantine, 7,750; Oran, 22,500 (10,000 of whom are foreigners).

CHAPTER V.

INTELLECTUAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS :—Liberty of instruction.—The University of France : academies, various councils.—Primary, secondary, and higher education : schools ; lycées and colleges ; faculties.—Free education.—Teaching staff.—Baccalaureat and University degrees.—Education of women.—Special and professional schools.—The Institute of France.—The intellectual movement.

LIBERTY OF INSTRUCTION.

THE question of the education of youth is one of those in which the struggle between the Catholic Church and the civil power has been, and still is, hottest. It is also one of those in which France, which for a long time had remained far in the rear, has made most efforts, and achieved most progress in these latter years.

It need hardly be said that in France, as everywhere else, teaching during the Middle Ages was exclusively concentrated in the hands of the Church. In 1600 Henri IV. promulgated new statutes for the University of Paris, more generally known under the name of the Sorbonne, and established very clearly the right which had been constantly claimed by his predecessors to be absolute arbiter in educational matters, without the intervention of the spiritual authority. But, notwithstanding the new Statutes, the religious influence retained its preponderance until the Revolution, and not the least curious fact of that time was that most of

the revolutionists had received their education at the hands of priest or monk.

The National Convention drew up in 1794 and 1795 a vast scheme of organisation for public education, ranging from primary schools to special professional schools, such as the École Polytechnique, and the École Normale (of which it was the originator), taking care, however, to keep the whole of this organisation free from all clerical influence. This scheme could not be completely carried out before Bonaparte's *coup d'état*, and it is from the First Empire, from 1806 to 1808, that the University of France dates its origin. Considerable changes have, however, been introduced since then, either into its powers or its programmes.*

Napoleon I. conceived education as a means of disciplining minds and wills and moulding them into conformity with the political system which he had put in force; accordingly he gave the University the monopoly of public education. Apart from the official system of teaching, no competition was allowed except that specially authorised, regulated, and controlled by the State itself. Religious instruction found a place in the official programmes, and members of the clergy were even called on to supply it, but this instruction itself, and these priests themselves, were under the authority of the State.

Hence two results: on the one hand the speedy im-

* The term "university" is applied in France to the sum total of public educational institutions, that is to say, institutions maintained by the State or the communes. The word cannot be used by any free or private institution, and does not apply, as is the case in other countries, to certain educational courses combined together in the same town. There is a University of France, but no University of Paris or of Lyons. The University embraces the three degrees of education: primary or popular education, secondary education (classical or special), and higher education, which last gives the training for the so-called liberal professions (the professoriate, law, medicine, &c.) All public education is, as we shall see, placed under State authority, while free or private education is only submitted to its supervision, and this supervision does not go very far.

poverishment of University education, which, feeling its undisputed mastery of the situation, could not fail to fall into routine and into servility to power, and that notwithstanding a few noble examples of independence given by certain of its masters ; on the other hand, the incessant agitation of all those who were prevented by the special organisation given to the University from expounding their ideas or the faith that was in them from the professorial chair.

This agitation was begun and carried on by the Catholic Church itself, as soon as it felt more at liberty to let its ambitions be discerned. On this point the Church met with the support of a good number of Liberals, and it is in a great measure to its initiative that are due the three important laws of 1833, 1850, and 1875, which have respectively given to France freedom of primary education, of secondary education, and finally that of higher education ; which have given, that is to say, the right to everyone, under certain conditions of capacity and character, to open private schools in competition with the three orders of public schools.

But the Church did not stop there. Hardly had it insured liberty to its educational institutions—a liberty by which all citizens might profit alike, but of which its own strong organisation and powerful resources enabled it more easily to take advantage—hardly was this result obtained than the Church tried to lay hands on the University itself, and to make its doctrines paramount there. Not only was religious teaching compulsory in primary education, but schoolmaster-ships were, to a very large extent, reserved for members of religious communities, who, instead of the proofs of capacity demanded from other candidates to those functions, could only show a simple certificate given by the bishop ("letter of obedience"). In secondary education the Church obtained privileges for her minor seminaries, which gradually lost their original character of training-schools for the priesthood and became ordinary schools. She further secured a number

of places in the disciplinary councils of State instruction. Finally, she tried to get the right of conferring University degrees conceded to free (*i.e.*, non-State) establishments of higher education; and, as the University degree is not merely honorary in France, but constitutes the only test by which the claims of most candidates to certain public or private functions (judge, doctor, lawyer, &c.) are decided, the claim concealed a genuine peril.

Thence arose a movement hostile to the enterprises of the Church, which has found expression since 1880 in a series of laws which excluded her little by little from the positions she had won, and only left to her, as to all other citizens, the liberty to teach apart from, and concurrently with, the State. The right to confer degrees has been given back to the State alone; the privilege of the "letter of obedience" has been abolished; religious teaching has been excluded from the primary schools;* and after having "laicized," as the French phrase is, the curriculum, the effort was persistently made to "laicize" the staff.

These general considerations will enable us better to understand the existing system of education in France, which we are now about to describe.

ORGANISATION OF THE SERVICES FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION.

From the University point of view, the territory of France is divided into seventeen *academies*, the chief towns of which are Paris, Douai, Caen, Rennes, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Aix, Grenoble, Chambéry, Lyons, Besançon, Nancy, Dijon, Clermont, and Algiers. Each academy has a rector at its head, who, under the authority of the

* Dogmatic religious teaching, which alone is here in question, is forbidden in primary public schools; moral teaching, which is included in the official curricula, includes the knowledge of man's duties to God.

Minister of Public Instruction, is charged with the material administration of higher and secondary education, and with the methods of primary instruction in his district. The administration of this last belongs to the prefect of each department, assisted by an academy-inspector. In each of these three successive stages—department, academy, and central administration—is placed a council, possessing administrative and disciplinary powers.

The *Departmental Council of Public Instruction*, which comprises six officials, four councillors-general (elected by their colleagues), two schoolmasters, and two schoolmistresses for public primary education (elected by their colleagues), and, in certain cases, two free school masters, elected in like manner, forms a disciplinary council for primary education, either public or free (*i.e.*, State or private). This council sees to the application of programmes, lays down rules, and appoints one or more delegates in each canton to superintend primary schools.

The *Academic Council*, which comprises officials, members elected by the professors of secondary and higher education, and members appointed by the Minister, performs similar functions with regard to secondary and higher education.

The *Higher Council of Public Instruction* sits at Paris. It comprises forty-four elected representatives of the three educational orders, nine University officials, and four "free" schoolmasters appointed by the Minister, and is the disciplinary court of appeal for the two preceding councils. The Minister is, moreover, obliged to consult it in all questions of programmes, methods, rules, &c., without, however, being bound to follow its opinion.

Such is the framework, administrative as well as judicial, in which education, whether public or free, lives and moves. And now let us see what this education is, beginning with the public schools.

THE DIFFERENT DEGREES OF EDUCATION.

Since 1882 *Primary Education* has been compulsory for all children of both sexes, from the age of six to the end of the thirteenth year, unless before reaching the latter age they have been able to pass an examination, and to gain the certificate of primary studies. To satisfy the law, the child's name must be entered at a public or private school; he may, however, continue to receive instruction at home, but in this case, after he has reached the age of eight, he must be examined every year before a State board, and if the examination is judged insufficient the parents may be compelled to send him to a public or private school. At the age of thirteen the child is set free from further teaching, whatever may be the results of the education he has received. The law's sanction lies in the right which a municipal school-committee possesses of ordering the names of parents in default to be posted on the door of the town-hall. If the offence is repeated the parents are liable to a fine of from one to fifteen francs, and to a term of imprisonment varying from one to five days, both which punishments have to be ordered by the Juge de Paix.

In public schools the course of instruction does not include, as we have said, religious teaching; but one day in the week the school must take a holiday, to allow parents to provide such teaching for their children, if they wish to do so. The school building cannot be used for that purpose. In private schools religious instruction may be given, but this is optional.

The programme of primary education includes: moral and civic instruction; reading, writing, French, geography and history (particularly those of France); general notions of law and science; the elements of drawing, modelling, and music; and gymnastics.

No person of either sex can become a teacher, either

public or private, unless he possesses the "certificate of capacity for primary instruction" given by a State board. For the future—putting aside certain temporary arrangements—no member of a religious community will be eligible for the post of master in a public school. Private schools may be opened anywhere as long as a suitable building is chosen, and the State supervises them from the point of view of public morality alone.

The public school master is a State official, appointed by the prefect, and is entitled to a retiring pension.

In principle, it is true, public primary education has to be provided by the communes; it is, however, showing a marked tendency to lose this original characteristic and to become a charge upon the State. The State, in fact, began by laying certain obligations on the communes; afterwards, when education was made compulsory, it was made gratuitous to all children without exception; this caused a considerable loss to the communes, and the State came to their help with regular grants. This help was repeated when the communes were obliged to burden themselves with the cost of new school buildings, necessitated by the increase of the school-going population. Finally, from the point of view of the school-courses, primary education, like the other degrees of education, is centralised by the State.

As a general rule, every commune is compelled to maintain a public school, and, if it has more than 500 inhabitants, a second school for girls only. It may also have, if it pleases, schools for little children (*écoles maternelles*) or infant schools, for children under six; supplementary evening classes for children over thirteen; higher-grade primary schools where more advanced instruction can be had, &c.; but its strict obligations are limited to the primary school, properly so-called. The department must provide a normal school for masters and a similar institution for mistresses, where they can be trained. The State, finally, has two

training schools for the higher-grade primary teaching, at Fontenay and St. Cloud, near Paris, where masters are prepared for the departmental training schools. The result of all this is, that the sum total of the State's expenses for primary education in 1887 is as high as eighty-five million francs (£3,400,000), and that without mentioning grants for school buildings, whereas in 1877 the sum total was only twelve millions (£480,000).

This considerable effort, which may even appear excessive when we consider the short space of time in which it has been accomplished, has not been fruitless. The following figures will give some idea of what has been done. From 1877 to 1886, the number of public schools rose from 61,000 to 66,500; that of the pupils from 4,200,000 to 4,500,000,* with 96,600 masters and mistresses†; that of training schools for male teachers from 79 to 89, of training schools for female teachers from 18 to 77, with 5,400 pupils (3,500 of them women), and 1,200 masters. As to the results a single fact will suffice. In these ten years, before the generations newly called to military service have been able to profit fully by the new state of things, the proportion of illiterate recruits (which is annually made out directly after the lots are drawn) has already fallen from 15 to 11 per cent.

As to private primary education, the latest official figures are for the scholastic year 1885-1886. At that time it had 13,255 schools, of which 3,991 were lay and 9,264 under the control of members of religious communities, with 321,000 boys and 751,000 girls.

At the present moment it is reckoned that 20 per cent.

* There are moreover 560 higher-grade primary schools with 30,000 pupils.

† In this total the number of members of religious communities has fallen from 37,000 to 16,400, of whom 14,000 are women; the remaining members of communities are all provided with the necessary certificates of capacity, "lettres d'obedience" being no longer recognised.

of children of the scholastic age are in private schools, and that of these 17 per cent. are in schools directed by members of religious communities. The public schools taught by members of religious communities are still tolerably numerous, these communities thus supplying the education of a total of 32 per cent. of the children of France.*

Secondary Education, according to the official programmes, is divided into classical education (literary or scientific), and special. These three branches of education include some subjects common to them all, such as French, history, geography, &c., while others are special to each of them, or more developed in one branch than in another. Latin and Greek form the principal basis of the literary education, along with philosophy and the elements of mathematics and natural science. The study of the sciences goes deeper in the scientific classical education, while that of the dead languages and philosophy is very limited. In each course the pupils have to learn one modern language (English, German, Spanish, or Italian), while in the special education two modern languages are necessary, and also some knowledge of law and political economy. The duration of this education is from 9 to 10 years. Speaking broadly and apart from its purpose of cultivating the mind generally, the classical education prepares for the higher studies which lead to the legal career, to the teaching of literature, to historical studies, &c., or (when it is scientific), to medicine and to the different professional State schools. The special education is reserved for youths destined to commerce or manufactures.

At the present moment the State provides secondary education in 98 lycées and 256 colleges distributed over the country. The lycées differ from colleges in the fact that the former are principally paid for by the State, while the

* In 1885-1886 there were still 6,667 communes having educational courses for adults with 168,000 men pupils, and 1,135 with 30,000 women pupils.

communes bear the greater part of the expenses of the latter. Professors in lycées are of higher rank and superior capacity to those in colleges, and among the colleges those which are called second-class do not give the complete secondary education. In both lycées and colleges the programmes are the same, drawn up by the central authority and controlled by State inspectors, the expenses of the State for secondary education being 13½ million francs (£540,000). The professors are appointed by the State, and have to be provided with certain certificates of capacity; there were 3,143 professors in the lycées in 1886.

Of the above sum, however, one and a half million francs (£60,000) is devoted to the thirty-five lycées and colleges for the *secondary education of girls*. The creation of these establishments, attempted for the first time in 1880, was intended to divert a certain number of girls from the convents and private schools where they used to be taught, in order to give them an education which should conform in its general spirit—with the modifications made necessary by the difference of sex—to the education given to boys. There are still a considerable number of towns where neither lycées nor colleges for girls have been started, and in these classes for secondary instruction have been organised for young ladies, and are held by the professors of the boys' schools. The results of this enterprise have been hitherto satisfactory, but it is still in its infancy.

Secondary education is not, of course, compulsory, but neither is it gratuitous. Two remarks are, however, necessary on this last point. On the one hand it is the custom to offer a certain number of scholarships every year for competition among the poorest and cleverest children, the successful ones receiving their education and sometimes their board and lodging free, in the State* establishments;

* In 1887 the State was paying over three million francs (£120,000) in scholarships, without counting what the departments and the communes

on the other hand, the price of board is very low for the paying pupils, and it may be said that, as far as that goes, the State renders competition very difficult to private initiative. The State not only gives its pupils education strictly so-called, but boards and lodges about half of them, at an extremely low rate. The tuition fees vary from £2 8s. to £16 a year, according to the age of the pupil and the town he lives in. Board and lodging cost from £22 to £52 a year. The system of boarding schools has often been attacked on moral and sanitary * grounds; it maintains its position, however, because it is democratic in the sense that it enables parents living at a distance from towns supplied with lycées and colleges to send their children to them. It has even been extended to the girls' colleges recently established. Most of the lycées receive both boarders and day-scholars, sometimes boarders only.

In 1886 the number of pupils in schools for public secondary education was estimated at about 100,000—an increase of 20,000 on 1876—of whom 9,600 were girls, giving an average of 263 scholars per school. The exact figures for the scholastic year 1883–84 were as follows:—

—	Number of Schools.	Total Number of Pupils.	Boarders.	Day Scholars.	Exhibi- tioners.
Lycées for Boys ...	97	49,442	24,990	24,452	4,662
Colleges „ ...	257	41,000	16,212	24,788	1,919
Lycées for Girls ...	10	1,281	197	1,084	—
Colleges „ ...	13	1,656	405	1,251	—

on their side often do. In 1883-1884 there were 4,662 holders of scholarships in secondary education; to-day there are 2,000 in the higher grade primary schools, and some hundreds in the schools for higher education.

* The chief charge brought against the boarding-school system from

As regards the nature of the education given, the pupils were thus divided in 1886 :—

	Primary Education.	Secondary, Classical, or Scientific Education.	Special Education.	Secondary Education for Girls.
Boys' Lycées	6,020	33,309	10,113	—
„ Colleges	9,213	18,139	13,647	—
Girls' Lycées	464	—	—	817
„ Colleges	869	—	—	787
Totals	16,566	51,438	23,760	1,604

Free secondary schools may be opened subject to the production of certain certificates of capacity on the part of the director alone; the State then supervises the working from the point of view of public morality. It is calculated that the free Catholic institutions have about 48,000 pupils with an average of 143 per establishment. The part taken by lay schools of the above character is inconsiderable.

But an incomplete idea of the social importance of secondary education in France would be conveyed to the reader were the important part played by the *baccalauréat* ignored. The *baccalauréat* is an examination which young men have to undergo at the end of their studies. It is not conducted, as in Germany, by a board of examiners chosen from the professors of the institution where the boy has been educated, but by professors of Faculties—an arrangement which gives it a peculiar solemnity. The bachelor's diploma given to candidates who have successfully passed

the sanitary point of view is that the children are not allowed sufficient time and space for physical exercise.

through the written and *viva voce* tests of the examination, is not a simple certificate of studies, but a university degree, of inferior rank it is true, but which is indispensable for attendance at the courses of the higher education, and for admittance to certain schools. Even where the production of this diploma is not compulsory, its possession gives a formidable advantage in the various competitions in which its holders may be called on to take part. Hence arises a widely spread ambition among the middle classes to possess this diploma, and, unfortunately, many young men after obtaining it imagine themselves very learned, too learned even to embark upon commercial or industrial careers, which they think themselves entitled to qualify as vulgar.

Till lately there have been three sorts of baccalauréat: the baccalauréat-ès-lettres, which involves two examinations with a year's interval between; the complete baccalauréat-ès-sciences; and the limited baccalauréat-ès-sciences—this last-named being more especially devoted to the natural sciences. The first is required for the study of law; the second or third, for that of medicine, for instance. In 1883, out of 16,124 candidates for the different baccalauréats, 3,597 obtained the diploma for literature, 2,628 the "complete" science diploma, and 552 the "limited" science diploma; the proportion of failures for each category respectively was 53·4,* 62·9, and 58·9 per cent. Of late efforts have been made to divert a portion of the French youth from the baccalauréat, and thus to avoid the overcrowding which results from it in the so-called liberal professions, to the disadvantage of trade and manufactures. With this object an attempt has been made to develop the special secondary education; unfortunately, a fourth bacca-

* At the first examination for the baccalauréat-ès-lettres, the proportion is 59·5 per cent; those who fail cannot present themselves for the second examination.

lauréat was devised to serve as its end and recompense, and this baccalauréat once created, the obligation was felt and acted upon of insuring it certain rights at the entrance of those very careers where there are too many young men already. It is a question which is occupying many minds in France at the present day, but which has not yet been determined in a satisfactory manner.

As regards public *higher education*, it is chiefly given in the *Faculties* and in certain higher schools, the annual maintenance of which costs the State about seventeen million francs (£680,000).

In the Faculties, education is given almost gratuitously. Most of the courses are open to the public. Students who wish to prepare for the examinations must take out every quarter a form of matriculation, the cost of which is very trifling. They cannot enter for the examinations without a certain number of these forms, and a supplementary diploma-fee is required from every competitor. Each Faculty has a dean for its administration; titular professors appointed by the State at the recommendation of the teaching body, and irremovable; professor-fellows or substitutes (*agrégés*) chosen by competition, lecturers, etc.; the salaries run from 2,000 to 15,000 francs (£80 to £600). The programmes of the Faculties are fixed by the State, but for some years there has been a marked tendency to leave them more individual initiative; to each of the groups of Faculties existing in the same academic district has even been given a council-general elected in part by the faculties concerned, and possessed of certain administrative and pedagogic powers.

There are five orders of Faculties—law, medicine, sciences, letters, and theology. In spite of the unity of the programme for each of these branches of instruction, the number of professional chairs in each Faculty varies according to its importance. In this respect the Faculties of Paris are much the most considerable.

There are fifteen Faculties for literature, fifteen for natural science, thirteen for law, six for medicine with six schools of pharmacy attached to them, and two for theology.* Paris is the only town of France where all the Faculties are combined. The other Faculties are dispersed throughout the country, the principal centres of higher education, after Paris, being Nancy, Lyons, Lille, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Grenoble, etc. Besides the regularly organised Faculties, there are mixed Faculties of medicine and pharmacy, and preparatory schools for the higher education, these last giving only a part of the education in question, and having no power to confer degrees.

In 1886 the different Faculties occupied 1,600 professors of all ranks, and had 18,000 pupils. Of late many efforts have been made to improve their material and intellectual working, and a remarkable success has been attained. The Faculties of literature, which ten years ago had only 122 pupils, have now more than 2,000; while those of the natural sciences have raised their numbers from 133 to more than 1,200. Work in all branches is actively pushed on by masters who are absolutely independent, and who easily sustain comparison with those of the best foreign universities.

After difficult examinations, the Faculties give diplomas which in a general way correspond to the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor. The Faculties alone have the right to confer these degrees, even in the case of pupils of the Voluntary schools. In consequence of the freedom given to higher education, the Catholic party has, in fact, attempted to found *free faculties* to compete with those of the State. The attempt has not succeeded, and the number of these faculties and of their pupils lessens yearly. There

* As has been said (p. 140), Protestant theology alone is here concerned. The Faculties of Catholic theology were suppressed in 1885.

are only fourteen of them now left, with 665 pupils only, and 250 professors ; the chief ones are at Lille and Lyons.

The number of degrees conferred by the different State Faculties was as follows in 1883 :—

—	Certifi- cate of Capacity.	Bacca- lauréat.	Licen- ciate.	Doctor.	Officers of Health.	Apothe- caries.	Mid- wives.
Theology...	—	40	7	5	—	—	—
Law	157	1,362	319	139	—	—	—
Science ...	—	3,180	307*	23*	—	—	—
Literature..	—	3,597	237†	17	—	—	—
Medicine...	—	—		662	101	433	553

In the teaching of law the certificate of capacity carries with it the right to fill the lower grades of the legal profession (notary, solicitor—*avoué*—sheriff's officer, &c.‡) ; the grade of licentiate qualifies its possessor to serve as judge, prefectural councillor, or barrister (*avocat*). In medicine, a man must be "doctor" in order to practise in any part of France without distinction ; the "officers of health" (*officiers de santé*) can only practise within a limited district in the neighbourhood of the Faculty which has given them their degree.§ Women are admitted as pupils to all the courses of the higher education, even to those of medicine. They can take the degree of doctor, and even compete with the male candidates for the house-surgeonicies in the hospitals.

* In the scientific Faculties there are three kinds of licence and a doctorate for the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences.

† In the literary Faculties there are four kinds of licence :—Letters (*littère humaniores*), history, philosophy, and modern languages.

‡ See chapter VII.

§ Medical students do practical work in the communal hospitals.

The Faculties also conduct the fellowship-examinations which give a successful candidate the rights to hold the functions of deputy-professor in a Faculty, and—in the cases of literature and science—those of full professor in a lycée. Fellowship-examinations are held in Paris for all France.

Beside the Faculties, there are a great number of establishments for higher education, of *professional or special schools* of very different kinds. Among those of such establishments which are paid for by the State may be mentioned the following in Paris :—

The Collège de France, which is an extremely ancient foundation. The courses are public, and are in principle intended for the teaching of those sciences which are still in the formative stage, and which cannot, therefore, be the subject of a really classical training.

The Museum of Natural History, which trains naturalists.

The Practical School of Higher Studies, the object of which is to facilitate the practical researches (philology, the sciences, history, &c.) of its students.

*These different institutions have a purely scientific character. The following, on the contrary (all in Paris) train young men for definite professions ; as a rule, students enter them after a competitive examination, and leave them with a diploma, and often an engagement. These are :—

The Higher Normal School, which trains professors for the classical secondary education, whether literary or scientific,* with branches at Rome and Athens ; the School of Charters, for students of archives and paleography ; the School of Modern Oriental Languages, for student-interpreters ; the Polytechnic School, for officers of artillery and engineers and for engineers of the different State—civil services ; the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, for civil engineers ; the National Agricultural Institution ; the

* The Normal School of Cluny plays the same part for the Special secondary education ; that of Sèvres for the secondary education of girls.

National School of Fine Arts, for painting, sculpture, and architecture, with a branch at Rome, and with the national museums of the Louvre, the Luxembourg, Versailles, &c ; the National Conservatorium of Music and Declamation, with the subsidised theatres of the Comédie Française, the Odéon, the Opéra, and the Opéra Comique ; &c. &c.

Among the *free* establishments of higher education at Paris, the chief is the School of Political Sciences (*École des Sciences Politiques*), which prepares pupils for the different civil service examinations and which aims at the general cultivation of the mind by teaching all political subjects connected with France and foreign countries which are not included in the programmes of the State establishments.

It will be seen that the means of education will not henceforth be wanting to the French people, and that Paris, by the infinite variety of its educational establishments, occupies a paramount place in French life in this respect. Strangers who confine themselves to hurrying through the great boulevards and visiting the theatres, are much too ready to set Paris down as being a frivolous city. On the left bank of the Seine is one of the most powerful centres of intellectual labour in the world, with a numerous population of modest and ill-paid servants.

The total number of students at Paris in 1885-6 was 10,679, distributed as follows:—Protestant theology, 35 ; law, 3,786 ; medicine, 3,696 ; science, 467 ; literature, 928 ; pharmacy, 1,767.

One thing, however, must have struck the reader in this necessarily incomplete picture of the state of education in France—the very small place, namely, given to professional education properly so called. And certainly, whether primary, secondary, or higher education is in question, the authors of our educational programmes have hitherto been much less pre-occupied with preparing youths for a definite career than with giving them a general education ; and the

programmes have been so overloaded that the question of children's brains being overworked is keenly agitating public opinion at this moment. For some years past, however, a new tendency has shown itself: an attempt is being made to add courses of practical work to the curriculum of the primary schools. A few schools of apprenticeship have been started, generally by private or communal initiative, as well as schools of agriculture and schools of arts and trades (*écoles d'arts et métiers*) to educate foremen for factories. Every effort is made to spread the teaching of drawing, &c. But on this point no methodical system like that which has just been described has yet been arrived at. Much remains to be done, and it is evidently in this direction that the efforts of statesmen will be turned in future.

This is not the place to speak either of the national libraries, which cost about 1,200,000 francs (£18,000) a year, nor of the encouragement given to the fine arts, which absorb three million francs (£120,000), but a word remains to be said on the subject of an institution which is often spoken of, the Institute of France.

The *Institute of France*, which was founded by Cardinal Richelieu, is now composed of five classes or academies—the French Academy, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, the Academy of Science, the Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences. Each is composed of a number of members which is fixed by its statutes, and itself replaces by co-optative election (subject to the approbation of the Head of the State), the members whom it loses by death. Each academy distributes annually a certain number of prizes and encouragements for work done in its department. The honour of belonging to the Institute is very much sought after by learned men, but the Institute plays no other part than that of patronising literature, science, and art from a serene height, and at a somewhat considerable distance.

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT.

A great deal of work is done in France, and the intellectual activity of the country follows every line of thought. France does not only pierce isthmuses; she can claim a good deal more than the honour of having been the first country to bore a tunnel under the Alps. In every order of intellectual labour she is at work casting down the barriers and destroying the obstacles which separate peoples from one another, the prejudices which divide races and classes, and the errors which keep minds isolated. When the Isthmus of Panama has been cut like that of Suez, vessels will be able to sail from one world to the other through the calm oceans of the tropics, and will abandon the tempestuous polar seas, and the long perilous cruises of to-day. In the intellectual world also, science is tracing round the earth a calm and straight path. It aims at being able some day to say, "There are no more Alps or Pyrenees."

In this effort of all nations the part of France is large. To speak of the present only, a revolution has been effected in her intellectual method during the second half of the present century. A deep division, widening day by day, had been formed under the influence of the critical spirit between brilliant but sometimes superficial generalisations and the modest but sure gains of science. The whole edifice of past generations which had been nobly built up by bold and lofty minds, seemed for an instant menaced with collapse, because here and there a few stones fell out of it. The men of our time are less audacious than their forefathers, but they are fired with the passion for the true. They are believers, they are good citizens, and yet lovers of the truth before all other enthusiasm, dogma, or fatherland. Their circumspection may exceed their boldness, but they have none the less set themselves courageously to work. They are laying bare the foundations of the edifice. They are taking in hand again, after due under-pinning, and bit

by bit, all the framework of the past, so as to insure its solidity for the future. And if the prophets and the mages, the great Seers who raised our marvellously proportioned cathedrals and triumphal arches, have in our day become rare, it is at least possible to enumerate good master-masons and conscientious workmen in every order of intellectual labour.

The revolution of which we are speaking—the pursuit of accuracy and precision in detail: before any attempt at construction, the laying of substructions which may be regarded as unshakable; before elevation, exactitude, and before display, strength—this revolution has transformed the methods of the French historic school, and of contemporary literature. The historians of the young and valiant school ransack archives, painfully amass materials, dig up the soil where the dust and alluvium of the past are piled layer after layer, and catch and follow from age to age the Life of old, just as in excavating the soil of a Madrid square we find the close-packed ashes of the *autos da fé*. The stage and the novel seem also to have forgotten the charming perspectives of the fancy and the imagination, and to have no less a passion for the utilisation of the “human document.” Distrustful of psychological analysis, which demands a practised clear-sightedness and the gift of reading souls, modern realism generally paints only the external side of life, the image, sometimes barbarous, of the passions and the stage on which they move, instead of introducing us to those intimate recesses where they take their birth. It tells us their catastrophes without unveiling to us the mechanism of their working. It shows us their facial expression without explaining to us their cause. Poetry herself, folding her wings and aspiring to lower peaks, has never possessed a more irreproachable technique; but the young masters of the contemporary Parnassus (we speak here only of the living) have more manual dexterity than they have emotion or sensibility. They have intro-

duced the methods, and sometimes the language of science into French poetry, and the weapon of verse never vibrated in more skilful hands.

In the domain of the fine arts the superiority of the French remains undisputed. Contemporary French sculpture has carved in marble or cast in bronze images of beauty which will remain eternal. The plastic qualities of the Greek mind expressed themselves in an ideal race of gods and goddesses. But modern sentiment, which is more human if it be less divine, has found its perfect expression, and one which is more living in its affecting sobriety, in the statues by Paul Dubois, Chapu, Mercié, and Falguière. In no time and in no country has the sculptor more directly communicated the impression of the Beautiful. The French painting of to-day, though inferior to that of the masters of the middle of the century, none the less remains, in the opinion of foreigners themselves, the first school of painting in Europe. In every branch of art, including the applied arts, the French remain the arbiters of taste. From the artistic point of view, as in the intellectual and moral world, France exercises an influence of the first order on civilised humanity.*

* * * The most prominent names among our *living* contemporaries (1888) are:—In poetry, Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme; in music, Gounod, Saint Saens, and Massenet; in painting, the fresco painter, Puvis de Chavannes, Paul Dubois, who is a portrait painter as well as a great sculptor, Henner, Carolus Duran, Français the landscape painter, Meissonnier, and Rosa Bonheur; in sculpture, the four sculptors mentioned in the text; in history and criticism, Rénan, Taine, the Duc de Broglie, Schérer, and Jules Lemaître, all of them penetrating psychologists, subtle moralists, and masters of prose style; in physical science, the chemists, Pasteur and Berthelot; the mathematician, Bertrand; and the geographer, Elisée Reclus; in parliamentary eloquence, Jules Simon; in University teaching, Professors Lavissee, Boutmy, Sorel, Martha, Gaston Boissier, and Croiset; in fiction, Zola, Guy de Maupassant, Pierre Loti, Alphonse Daudet, Edmond de Goncourt, and that man of many books and many styles, Cherbuliez; in dramatic authorship, Dumas *fils* and Augier; and in acting, the tragedian Mounet-Sully and the comedians Thiron and Got.

CHAPTER VI.

MILITARY AND NAVAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS :—Army : Compulsory Service ; Non - Commissioned Officers ; Officers ; Military Schools ; Paper and effective strength ; Districts assigned to the different Army Corps ; Principal Fortresses.—Navy : Maritime prefectures ; Fighting Fleet ; Conscription of Sailors ; Officers ; Cadres ; Naval Stations ; Effective Strength of the Fleet ; List of Ironclads ; Marines.—Commercial Navy : Number of vessels employed ; Ships entering and clearing from the chief ports ; Postal Services ; Ocean Fisheries.

LAND ARMY.

BEFORE the terrible war of 1870–1871, in virtue of the law of February 1, 1868, the army was recruited according to the following principles :—

Every Frenchman of the age of 20 was liable to the conscription. Those who drew an unlucky lot were compelled to serve for nine years, of which the last four were passed in the reserve. When a man had once drawn an unlucky lot, he could only escape by paying for a substitute. Men who were allowed exemption or a substitute formed during five years part of the National Guard (*Garde Nationale Mobile*), which was not really organised before hostilities began.

When the war with Prussia broke out, France could put into line only 270,000 men with 780 guns for the Army of the Rhine, and 150,000 with 402 guns in the camp of Châlons. Almost the whole of these troops capitulated—

the Châlons army with the Emperor Napoleon III. and Marshal MacMahon, at Sedan, Sept. 2, and the Rhine army under Bazaine at Metz, after a siege lasting from August 18 to October 28, 1870. The provisional Government of National Defence, under the energetic impulse of Gambetta, succeeded, however, by prodigies of intelligence and activity, in setting on foot 700,000 soldiers, for the most part untrained, who, with improvised officers, and a *matériel* got together in feverish haste, succeeded in holding the field up to the end of January, 1871, and in saving at least the honour of the flag.

After the conclusion of peace it was necessary to reconstitute the military stores, and to organise a new army capable of facing a fresh invasion, if such should be attempted. The nation shrank from no sacrifice either of men or money. Statesmen of all parties united their efforts to secure the safety of the territory for the future, and the country accepted without the slightest murmur the heavy burdens imposed on it by its defeat. From Germany was borrowed the principle of *Compulsory Personal Service* for all, as also were certain details of German military organisation, not however without being adapted to the special needs of France. So came about the law of July 27, 1872, which created the existing army.

Every Frenchman who is not physically incapacitated for military service or rendered unworthy of it by conviction for certain crimes, belongs to the army from the age of 20 to that of 40, and owes it his personal service, whatever his social position may be. He serves in the active army for 5 years; in the reserve of the active army 4 years; in the territorial army 5 years; in the reserve of the territorial army 6 years.* Infirm young men are *exempted*.

* In Algeria the service is 1 year for the active army, 8 in the reserve, and 11 in the territorial army. A Bill is just now before Parliament which uniformly fixes the period of active service at 3 years, and that of service in

Dispensed from active service in time of peace are the following: the eldest son of an orphan family; only sons, or the eldest sons of widows or of septuagenarians; younger sons, when the eldest is serving, or has died while on active service, or been invalided for wounds received in the field; young men who have bound themselves for 10 years as public school masters, who have obtained certain great national prizes,* or who are destined for the Church; 4 per cent. of the contingent supplied by each department to whom provisional dispensations may be accorded for various reasons, such as the continuation of their studies, &c.

According to the proportion determined every year by the Minister of War, young men who cannot claim one of these dispensations are distributed by lot between:—

1.—The Navy.

2.—The first portion of the contingent, which is bound to 5 years active service, but which, as a matter of fact, in consequence of financial exigencies, and thanks to the furloughs which are granted, only remains on active service 40 months.

3. The second portion of the contingent, which is only bound to one year's active service.

Each class of recruits, on a total of about 300,000 young men, furnishes a contingent of about 150,000 soldiers.

Over and above the mass of ordinary conscripts, the active army also includes:

1. Those who have enlisted voluntarily, enlistments being received from the age of eighteen, and the men being permitted to re-enlist during their last year of service.

2. Those who are *conditionally enlisted for a year*, to whom the favour of limiting their active service to one year only is granted, if they are furnished with certain University

the reserve at 6; this bill puts an end to the system of volunteering for a single year, and to almost all cases of dispensation.

* *E.g.*, the Grand Prix de Rome for painting.

diplomas (the baccalauréat, for instance), if they are pupils of certain State schools, or if they passed a special examination before entering the service, subject always to the obligation of paying a sum of 1,500 francs (£60) to the State, and of passing a leaving examination after the expiry of the year of service.

The *active army* is at the disposal of the Minister of War, who by simple administrative decree can recall to it all those whose time of service has been shortened for any reason, including those conditionally enlisted.

The *reserves of the active army*, the *territorial army* and *its reserve*, can only be recalled to active service by decree of the Head of the State; but each class of the reserve is obliged, during its four years, to put in two periods of drill of twenty-eight days each; and each class of the territorial to put in two periods of thirteen days each, during the first five years.

In order to ensure a supply of good *non-commissioned officers*, it has been found necessary to grant bounties to those who re-enlist, permission to serve in the ranks till thirty-seven years of age, and the promise of civil employment and a retiring pension on leaving the service.

As to the *officers*, it has been said of French soldiers that each of them has the bâton of a Marshal of France * in his cartridge-pouch, and it is certainly true that any man entering the army can, by his bravery or his talents, rise to the highest rank. The officers have not all the same origin, however. Beside those who rise from the ranks there are a great many who come from the special military schools.

Every non-commissioned officer who wants to become an officer must, after he has discharged his duties for a certain period, enter (by competitive examination) the schools for non-commissioned officers established at Saint Maixent for

* The rank of Marshal is no longer conferred.

the infantry, at Saumur for the cavalry, and at Versailles for the artillery and the engineers. Only after he has been through these schools can a man who has risen from the ranks attain in time of peace to the rank of sub-lieutenant, and thence to the higher ranks.*

Young men who make the army their profession can obtain the rank of officer without going through the ranks, if they have successfully passed the entrance and leaving examinations of the following schools :

For the infantry and cavalry, the military special school of St. Cyr, near Versailles ;

For the artillery and the engineers, the Polytechnic School at Paris.

Candidates for commissions in what are called the special arms are obliged, moreover, to go through a probationary period in the cavalry training school at Saumur, or in the Fontainebleau school for the artillery and the engineers. They then obtain the rank of sub-lieutenant.†

His rank is the officer's property, and he cannot be deprived of it except by a regular judgment. The employment given him, on the other hand, is at the discretion of the Minister of War. Promotion in each arm (infantry, cavalry, artillery, &c.) is confined to that arm. It is given partly by selection, that is to say, on the proposal of committees composed of generals, and partly by seniority. In the higher ranks all promotion is by selection, and generals are chosen indifferently from any arm.

Officers are paid :—2,387 francs (£95 10s.) per ann. for a sub-lieutenant of infantry ; 19,857 francs (£794 5s. 6d.) for

* The only exception made to this rule is for the Train and the Gendarmerie.

† The rank of sub-lieutenant in the reserve is also granted—without going through the schools, but after special examinations and keeping certain terms—to men conditionally enlisted, and to non-commissioned officers, who have served their time. The officers of the reserve only serve during the periodical calls to arms, and in case of mobilisation.

a general of division, not including certain allowances for lodging or attendance. They are entitled to a retiring pension, and are pensioned off in the ordinary course when they have reached the limit of age, which is sixty-five years for generals of division, and less for the lower ranks. The national Order of the Legion of Honour and the military medal are used to reward military services, and carry with them the right to a moderate pension.*

The army includes a number of supplementary and auxiliary services, several of which have a special system of recruiting, and schools of their own—the medical and sanitary department, for instance, that of the commissariat, &c. Among these services, the most important is the *General Staff* (*État Major*). The General Staff is no longer a close body, with a separate system of admission, as was the case before 1880. It is composed in the main of officers of all arms who are provided with the certificate of the staff, which is delivered to them after (being already sub-lieutenants, lieutenants, or captains) they have successfully passed through the entrance and leaving examinations of the Higher School of War at Paris. A small minority of the Staff consists of uncertificated officers appointed by the Minister. An officer, whether certificated or not, cannot in time of peace remain more than four years on the Staff. After that time he must revert to regimental duty, and cannot be again employed on the Staff for a period of two years.

The army has, of course, a great number of establishments attached to it, such as bakeries, arsenals, powder-mills, balloon-shops, &c. The enumeration of these establishments would not be interesting, and it is enough to say that the Minister of War annually spends nearly 600,000,000 francs (£24,000,000). Besides the regular annual expense, extraordinary needs, such as renewal of

* Civilians can also be decorated with the Legion of Honour, but receive no pension.

guns and construction of fortresses, have cost the total sum of 2,300,000,000 francs (£92,000,000) in the period since 1871.

Let us now see what has been the result of these colossal efforts :—

COMPOSITION OF THE ACTIVE ARMY.

General Staff of the Army.—100 generals of division ; 200 generals of brigades.

Service of the General Staff.—300 officers ; 150 keepers of records ; 20 sections of clerks.

Control Office for the Administration of the Army.—52 controllers.

Infantry.—162 regiments of the line, consisting each of 3 battalions* of 4 companies each (250 men in time of war, 125 in time of peace) ; 30 battalions of foot chasseurs of 4 companies each ; 4 regiments of zouaves, consisting of 4 battalions of 4 companies each, and 2 at the dépôt ; 4 regiments of Turcos (natives of Algeria), consisting of 6 battalions of 4 companies each, and 2 at the dépôt ; 2 foreign regiments, consisting of 4 battalions of 4 companies each ; 3 battalions of zephyrs (African light infantry), consisting of 6 companies each ; 4 punishment companies.

Cavalry.—12 regiments of cuirassiers, 28 of dragoons, 20 of chasseurs, and 12 of hussars, each consisting of 5 squadrons (150 men), of which 1 squadron at the dépôt ; 4 regiments of African chasseurs, consisting of 6 squadrons each ; 4 regiments of spahis (natives of Africa), consisting of 6 squadrons each ; 19 squadrons of volunteer scouts, only formed in time of war ; 8 companies of remount.†

Artillery.—16 infantry battalions (garrison), with 6 batteries each ; 38 regiments, 19 of which have 12, while the other 19 have 13 batteries each ; 12 Algerian[§] batteries ; in all,

* In time of war, regiments take the field with three battalions each. A number of fourth battalions will be put together to make up new regiments.

† The "remonte" is the service entrusted with the purchase and breaking-in of horses for the army.

449 batteries and 2,694 field guns. 2 regiments of pontonniers, consisting of 14 companies each; 10 companies of artillery-workmen; 3 rocket-companies.

Engineers.—4 regiments of 5 battalions of 4 companies each; each regiment has 1 railway and 1 balloon company.

Train.—20 squadrons of 3 companies each.

Commissariat.—387 commissariat officers, 2,065 administrative officers, 25 sections of workmen, and 25 of medical attendants (*infirmiers*).

Medical and Sanitary Department.—1,300 doctors and 185 chemists.

Chaplains—38.

Veterinary Surgeons.—419.

Remount.—21 depôts.

Constabulary.—21 departmental legions; 1 legion of the Republican Guard at Paris; 4 companies of colonial constabulary.

Firemen.—1 regiment of 2 battalions of 6 companies each, at Paris.

On the peace footing the active army has 31,140 officers or acting officers, 492,000 men, and 130,000 horses. On the war footing the effective strength is trebled. But in case of war the active army is supported by the territorial army, which comprises 37,000 officers and 579,000 men, divided into 145 regiments of infantry of 3 battalions each; 18 regiments of cavalry, of 8 squadrons each; 18 regiments of artillery; 18 battalions of engineers; 18 squadrons of train; 18 sections of workmen, and as many of medical attendants (*infirmiers*); 30 battalions of custom house officers; 66 companies of forest chasseurs.*

When the two armies, both active and territorial, are mobilised, it is reckoned that France can put into line about 2,500,000 men, for whom equipments, arms, and stores

* In Algeria the territorial army consists of nine battalions of zouaves, four squadrons of chasseurs, and thirteen foot batteries.

actually exist in the magazines. Aided by the requisition of the horses and carts of private individuals, the list of which is yearly revised for this object, the passage of the army to a war footing can be effected with considerable rapidity. To facilitate this immense operation, an effort has been made to systematise the distribution of the different corps throughout the country in such a way that each corps may operate in time of war in the very district which is assigned to it in time of peace.

The territory of continental France is divided into 18 *Army Corps Districts*, the capitals of which, placed in the numerical order which serves to designate them, are as follows:—Lille, Amiens, Rouen, Le Mans, Orleans, Châlons-sur-Marne, Besançon, Bourges, Tours, Rennes, Nantes, Limoges, Clermont, Grenoble, Marseilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, Bordeaux.

Each of these districts has at its head a general of division commanding the army corps, and includes:—2 infantry divisions, *i.e.*, 8 line regiments and 1 battalion of foot chasseurs, divided into 4 brigades; 1 cavalry brigade, including 1 regiment of dragoons, and 1 regiment of chasseurs or hussars; 1 brigade of artillery, *i.e.*, 2 regiments, one of which has 12 field batteries (the gunners being carried on the limbers), while the other has 8 mounted batteries, and three horse artillery batteries (with all the men mounted)*; 1 battalion of engineers; 1 squadron of train; sections of staff-clerks and enlistment clerks, of administrative workmen, of military railway-men, of telegraphists and of balloonists; commissariat and sanitary detachments.†

* Each battery has 6 guns.

† Algeria forms the 19th Army Corps. The organisation of this corps is slightly different from that obtaining in those of continental France. It comprises 3 divisions at Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, with 4 regiments of zouaves, of 4 battalions each; 3 of Algerian sharpshooters (Turcos) of 6 battalions each; 2 foreign legions of 4 battalions each; 3

Each army corps district has all the magazines and supplies necessary to form an independent unit; in case of mobilisation the reservists of the active army living in the district are incorporated in the regiments stationed there, and equipped on the spot.* Then, and not till then, will begin the concentration of troops towards the frontier, and the formation of armies by the combination of a number of the corps thus constituted.

It is to be noted that the 18 army corps districts, the typical organisation of which has just been pointed out, do not by any means include all the available troops. Outside this organisation there remain 12 battalions of foot chasseurs, and 30 regiments of cavalry, these last forming 5 so-called "independent" cavalry divisions, with 3 brigades apiece. This surplus of troops is, and henceforward will be, distributed, for the greater part, along the frontiers of Germany and Italy so as to form a first curtain of defence in case of need.

The territorial army is also mobilised by army corps districts; but, unlike the active army, whose officers are always in active service, it has to constitute itself from top to bottom; its commanders are retired officers who no longer have active duties, and who consequently no longer permanently belong to the place where they will have to be in case of mobilisation.

But it was not enough to ensure to France a large and well-trained army, to give her the latest improvements in rifles and cannon,† and to lay by the vast stores of ammunition,

battalions of African light infantry (zephyrs); 4 regiments of African chasseurs of 5 squadrons each; 3 regiments of spahis (natives) of 6 squadrons each; and 12 artillery batteries detached from France.

* Paris and Lyons with their environs, from the point of view of the command, constitute two military governments; but the troops residing there belong to the neighbouring army corps.

† The Gras rifle and the Bange cannon, which are now in use, were invented after the war. A repeating rifle (the Lebel) is about to be substi-

clothing, and food which a new continental war would necessitate. After the loss of the fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg it was necessary to form a frontier of fortifications behind the Vosges. This undertaking was all the more urgent since, besides the gaps made in the system of defence by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the fortified places still retained required alteration. These fortifications, the most recent works of which went back for the most part to the eighteenth century, were no longer in a state to sustain the fire of long-range guns. Hence the necessity of a great and costly effort now finished.*

Paris is considered as the central rallying-point of national defence. It is surrounded by an *enceinte* of 94 bastions, 17 old forts, and 38 new advanced forts or batteries, the whole forming one entrenched camp at St. Denis, on the north, and another at Versailles, on the west.

Between Paris and the Eastern frontier there are two fortified lines of defence. Following this frontier from north to south we thus pass in succession—in the first line—

1. Dunkirk, with Bergues and Gravelines.
2. Lille, with 7 forts.
3. The district lying between the Scheldt and the Sambre, which is the principal centre of the northern system of defence, with Maubeuge and the small forts of Condé, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Landrecies, &c.
4. Givet, Montmédy and Longwy in the Ardennes.
5. The entrenched camp of Verdun on the Meuse, between Metz and Paris.
6. That of Toul on the Moselle, between Strasbourg and Paris.
7. That of Épinal.

tured for the former, and the shells of the latter are about to be modified in order that they may be loaded with the new explosives (*mélinite*) which have been recently invented.

* Since the invention of *mélinite* there is talk of entirely changing the existing system of fortification.

8. The entrenched camp of Belfort.

9. Montbéliard.

10. Besançon, with 22 forts.

11. The entrenched camp of Lyons, which protects the south from attack from the north-east, and forms the principal rallying-point against invasion from the south-east.

In the second line—

1. Péronne.

2. The entrenched camp of La Fère and Laon.

3. That of Reims.

4. That of Langres.

5. That of Dijon.

On the Alpine frontier in the first line are—

* 1. The entrenched camp of Albertville.

2. That of Briançon.

3. That of Nice.

In the second line—

1. The entrenched camp of Grenoble.

2. The fortress of Toulon.

THE NAVY.

* France is divided into five *maritime prefectures*, the capitals of which are the five military ports of Cherbourg, on the Channel; Brest, Lorient and Rochefort, on the Atlantic; and Toulon, on the Mediterranean. These five prefectures are divided into eleven sub-arrondissements and sixty-two quarters (*quartiers*). The maritime prefect, who is a vice-admiral, has the supreme direction of his arrondissement, except that he has not the command of commissioned ships forming squadrons or divisions afloat. The sub-arrondissements and quarters are controlled, under his authority, by an official of the naval commissariat.

The crews of the *Fighting Fleet* are recruited as follows :

1. By means of the maritime inscription ;
2. By voluntary enlistments, which are received from the age of sixteen and upwards.*
3. In case of need, by drafts from the army under the conditions already pointed out. About a third of the crews are furnished by this means.

Maritime inscription, the institution of which goes back to the seventeenth century, consists of the entrance on the lists of the marine commissariat of the names of all French sailors from eighteen to fifty years of age. A sailor is any individual aged eighteen who has made two ocean voyages in the fleet or the merchant service, or who has served eighteen months before the mast, or has been engaged during two years in inshore fishery, and who declares his intention to remain a seaman or a fisherman.

During the compulsory period of seven years the maritime inscript (*l'inscrit maritime*) can be called upon by simple ministerial decree to serve in the fleet. As a general thing, he has from three to five years of active service, and two years' furlough. After this first period the inscript can be no longer called out except by decree of the Head of the State in case of extraordinary emergency, but until he is fifty he may not reside in a foreign country, or serve anywhere but on a French vessel. To counterbalance these very heavy obligations, the inscript enjoys certain advantages. After 300 months of sea-going service in the fleet or the merchant-service, he is entitled to half-pay, with reversion in part to his widow and children under age.† French merchant vessels may not take as sailors any but maritime inscripts.

* There is no one-year volunteering in the navy.

† To cover a part of the expenses of the half-pay system, the Treasury of Invalided Sailors retains 3 per cent. on all contracts for supplies made on behalf of the Navy, and the same percentage on the wages paid to merchant sailors.

The crews of the fleet, which in time of peace comprise about 40,000 men, man the ships of the State, or are formed into companies in the military ports. The specialists necessary to the service, such as pilots, torpedo-men, gunners, mechanical engineers, &c., are trained in a number of different schools. The navy includes certain number of complementary and auxiliary services, such as the commissariat, the corps of administrative inspectors, the board of health, the corps of maritime engineers, the corps of engineer-hydrographers, &c. Each prefecture has its own arsenals and workshops.

Of the *officers*, or acting officers, some come from the body of warrant-officers (non-commissioned officers of the fleet), some from the Polytechnic School, but the overwhelming majority from the Naval School of the *Borda*, at Brest, admission into which is by competition, and which a boy leaves with the rank of aspirant. Naval rank, pay, promotion, pension, decorations, and limits of age, follow rules analogous to those in use for the army.

The total official staff of the fleet includes :—

- 15 Vice-admirals,*
- 30 Rear-admirals,
- 1732 Naval officers of all ranks,
- 134 Mechanical engineers,
- 443 Commissariat officials,
- 513 Doctors,
- 62 Chemists,
- 24 Chaplains,
- 127 Marine engineers,
- 17 Engineer-hydrographers.

In 1887, France maintained the following squadrons, divisions, and naval stations :—

* No more admirals are now appointed.

1. Mediterranean Evolutionary Squadron, made up as follows:—
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 9 Ironclads, | with 119 guns. |
| 2 Cruisers | „ 8 „ |
| 1 Torpedo-cruiser | „ 5 „ |

	Total	12 ships	132 „
2. Naval Division of Newfoundland	3 „	„	28 „
3. „ „ North Atlantic	3 „	„	38 „
4. „ „ South Atlantic	4 „	„	39 „
5. „ „ Pacific Ocean	4 „	„	49 „
6. „ „ Far East ...	7 „	„	55 „
7. „ „ Tonquin ..	19 „	„	44 „
8. „ „ Cochin China	12 „	„	29 „
9. „ „ Indian Ocean	10 „	„	52 „
10. „ „ Levant	3 „	„	18 „
11. Local Station of Senegal	7 „	„	12 „
12. „ „ Congo	4 „	„	8 „
13. „ „ Guiana	2 „	„	4 „
14. „ „ Tahiti	4 „	„	12 „
15. „ „ New Caledonia	3 „	„	12 „
16. „ „ Réunion... ..	1 „		

France had, moreover, nine transports in commission and a large number of guardships for the supervision of the coasts and the fisheries.

This enumeration does not, however, give a complete idea of what the French fleet might be in time of war. A large number of ships and of torpedo boats are held in reserve in the harbours which could be armed in case of need, and partly manned by the reserves of men furnished by the maritime inscription. The necessary complement of officers would be made up from the reserve. The following list comprises all the ships of the French fighting fleet, with the exception of seventy-two vessels of all ranks returned as valueless by the Minister of Marine on January 1, 1887, or which were to be erased from the navy list at an early date:—

Number.	Type.	Displacement in Tons.*	Nominal Horse-power †	Number of Guns (Machine Guns not included).	Condition on Jan. 1, 1887.					
					In Com.	Not in Com.	In Com.	In Reserve.	Approaching Completion.	In Construction.
21	Ironclad Men-of-War	From 7,200 to 11,300	From 1,000 to 1,500	From 6 to 22	13	—	1	1	4	3
22	Ironclad Cruisers	From 4,700 to 6,400	From 575 to 850	From 11 to 15	2	—	2	3	—	—
7	Ironclad Guard-ships	From 4,700 to 5,900	From 425 to 850	From 2 to 6	1	—	5	1	—	—
6	1st Class Ironclad Gun-boats.	1,640	250	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	2nd Class Ironclad Gun-boats	1,050	From 160 to 175	2	—	—	—	—	—	3
9	Heavy-armed Cruisers	From 3,400 to 7,045	From 550 to 2,440	From 10 to 27	1	—	—	—	2	1
11	1st Class Cruisers	From 2,400 to 3,600	From 550 to 900	From 10 to 15	4	—	3	3	—	2
12	2nd Class Cruisers	From 1,070 to 2,200	From 450 to 765	From 4 to 10	4	—	3	—	—	—
14	3rd Class Cruisers	From 1,200 to 1,390	From 230 to 450	From 2 to 6	6	—	1	—	—	—
4	Torpedo Cruisers	1,280	500	5	1	—	—	—	—	3
13	1st Class Despatch-boats	From 790 to 1,000	From 160 to 200	From 2 to 4	8	—	1	1	1	2
22	2nd Class Despatch-boats	From 240 to 640	From 50 to 175	From 1 to 4	16	—	4	—	—	2
6	3rd Class Despatch-boats	From 28 to 200	From 25 to 40	From 1 to 2	4	—	1	—	—	1
17	Transport Despatch-boats	From 1,020 to 1,810	From 150 to 175	From 2 to 6	8	—	1	1	—	4
8	Torpedo Despatch-boats	320	100	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
14	Gun-boats	From 485 to 500	From 100 to 105	From 3 to 6	13	—	1	—	—	—
30	Sloop-gunboats	From 103 to 205	From 38 to 77	2	23	—	7	—	—	—
1	Canon-boat	74	140	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	Sea-going Torpedo-boats	67	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
72	1st Class Torpedo-boats	From 44 to 50	From 22 to 30	—	17	—	3	9	—	52
41	2nd Class Torpedo-boats	From 27 to 36	From 15 to 20	—	11	—	13	—	—	—
9	Torpedo-scouts	From 11 to 15	From 5 to 12	—	4	—	1	4	—	—
10	1st Class Transports	From 5,200 to 6,000	From 600 to 800	From 2 to 5	2	—	3	5	—	—
3	2nd Class Transports	From 3,200 to 4,300	From 200 to 400	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
5	3rd Class Transports	From 1,250 to 1,950	From 120 to 180	2	3	—	—	1	—	1
351	Steamers	—	—	—	154	44	55	21	—	77
2	Frigates	2,090	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
2	Corvettes	490	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
5	Schooners	From 40 to 270	—	2	5	—	—	—	—	—
5	Cutters	From 48 to 88	—	From 2 to 4	2	1	—	—	—	—
29	Fishery Watchers	From 6 to 57	—	—	26	3	—	—	—	—
41	Sailing Vessels	—	—	—	33	4	—	2	—	2
3	Training-ships	From 3,400 to 6,000	From 300 to 800	From 2 to 33	3	—	—	—	—	—

* The ton is 40 French cubic feet, or 1.4 cubic metre. The displacement here given is the average displacement of the ships when equipped for sea.
† The nominal power here given is of the effective horse-power which the engines can develop under ordinary circumstances.

We thus reach a total of 395 ships of all ranks, with 1,364 guns—*i.e.*, 190 commissioned ships, with 704 guns; 55 ships in reserve, with 180 guns; 48 ships not in commission, with 189 guns; 23 ships approaching completion, with 115 guns; 79 ships in construction, with 176 guns.

The fleet, moreover, includes 72 vessels (66 of them steamers), with 320 guns, which the Minister of Marine now considers as practically valueless, or as having to be erased from the navy list at an early date; and 311 vessels which have been condemned, or which are employed for various forms of harbour service.

It is worth while to add to this first general table some further details with regard to the ironclads and their condition on January 1st, 1888.

IRONCLADS.
• MEN-OF-WAR.

Names of Vessels.	Displacement of Tons.	Nominal Horse-power.	Number of Guns.	State on January 1, 1888.
Amiral Baudin ...	11,300	1,630	15	{ Approaching completion.
Amiral Duperré ...	11,100	1,500	19	In commission.
Devastation ...	10,500	1,500	14	In commission.
Courbet... ..	10,500	1,500	14	In commission.
Formidable ...	11,300	1,575	15	{ Approaching completion.
Hoche	10,650	1,400	22	{ completion.
Redoutable ...	9,200	1,500	14	In reserve.
Colbert	8,900	1,100	16	In commission.
Friedland ...	9,100	1,000	16	In commission.
Marengo	7,900	1,000	15	In commission.
Ocean	7,700	1,000	16	In commission.
Richelieu ...	9,100	1,100	19	In commission.
Suffren	7,800	1,000	14	In commission.
Trident	8,800	1,100	16	In reserve.
Cafman	7,200	1,200	6	Doing its trials.
Indomptable ...	7,200	1,200	6	In commission.
Requin	7,200	1,200	6	{ Approaching completion.
Terrible... ..	7,200	1,200	6	In reserve.
Magenta	10,600	1,400	21	In construction.
Marceau	10,600	1,387	21	{ Approaching completion.
Neptune	10,600	2,080	21	{ completion.
Brennus	11,000	—	14	In construction.

IRONCLAD CRUISERS.

Names of Vessels.	Displacement of Tons.	Nominal Horse power.	Number of Guns.	State on January 1, 1888.
Bayard	6,000	850	12	In commission.
Duguesclin	6,200	850	11	In reserve.
Turenne	6,400	850	12	In commission.
Vauban	6,000	850	11	In commission.
La Gallissonière	4,700	500	12	In reserve.
Triomphante	4,700	575	15	Not in commis-
Victorieuse	4,700	575	13	In reserve. [sion.

IRONCLAD GUARD-SHIPS.

Fulminant	5,900	850	2	In reserve.
Furieux	5,700	850	2	In reserve.
Tonnerre	5,700	850	2	In reserve.
Tempête	4,900	425	2	In reserve.
Tonnant	4,700	425	2	In reserve.
Vengeur	4,700	425	2	In reserve.

In all, 35 ships, with 428 guns; seven of which, with 114 guns, are approaching completion or in construction.

The total value of the French fleet on January 1st, 1887, the ships being reckoned as new, was 608,000,000 francs (£24,320,000), made up as follows:—

Hulls	324,000,000 francs (£12,960,000)
Accessories to hulls	56,000,000 „ (£2,240,000)
Machinery	123,000,000 „ (£4,920,000)
Equipment	63,000,000 „ (£2,520,000)
Artillery	42,000,000 „ (£1,680,000)
Total	608,000,000 francs (£24,320,000)

In addition to the actual personnel of the Navy, an important corps of troops, whose duty it is to provide garrisons for all colonies except Algeria, and to furnish landing-parties in case of war, is maintained under the authority of the Minister of Marine. Their dépôts are in the French military ports. These troops include:—

1. Marine Infantry: Two generals of division, four generals of brigade, thirteen staff officers, 706 officers of all ranks, 19,200 men in four regiments of forty-four companies each. Of these 11,200 are in France, and 8,000 in the Colonies. There are also native companies of Indian sepoys, Annamite and Cingalese riflemen, under French officers, and a punishment-company.

2. Marine Artillery: One general of division, two generals of brigade, 364 officers of all ranks, one regiment with twenty-nine batteries, drivers, artillery-workmen, and rocket-companies,—a total of 5,135 men.

3. Five companies of Naval Police (eighteen officers and 501 men).*

The total expenditure of the Navy amounted in 1887 to nearly 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000), not including extraordinary votes. •

MERCHANT SERVICE.

The merchant service is the natural supplement and the reserve of the Navy, both because it is the nursery where the sailors of the State are recruited, and because its vessels can in case of need be chartered or requisitioned by the State. On this double ground, and in consideration of the burdens which weigh upon it, notably by its being obliged to employ only French sailors,† the State has always granted it certain exceptional privileges. At the present time these privileges consist of, (a) the monopoly of the coasting trade (transport of goods from French port to French port) to the exclusion of foreign flags; (b) bounties on ship-building, on equipment, and on deep-sea fishery (£560,000 for 1887); and subsidies to mail companies such as the Transatlantic

* The various marine troops and their officers are recruited according to the same rules as the land army.

† See what has been said above, p. 169, about maritime inscription.

Company, Messageries Maritimes, &c. (£1,080,000 in 1887).

FRENCH MERCHANT SERVICE IN 1885.

Nature of Employment.	SAILING VESSELS.			STEAMERS.		
	Number.	Tonnage.	Crews.	Number	Tonnage	Crews.
Pilotage and Harbour Service	415	4,620	1,550	279	10,550	1,650
Coast Fishery	9,987	81,750	45,350	15	430	125
Deep-sea Fishery	493	55,050	10,550			
Coasting Trade... ..	1,990	94,100	7,250	155	13,150	1,200
Voyages in European Waters	376	48,800	2,900	231	163,750	6,100
Ocean Voyages... ..	529	204,900	6,900	203	302,300	9,650
Pleasure Yachts	76	1,690	300	39	1,950	320
Unemployed in 1885	463	16,890	—	15	270	—
Totals	14,329	507,800	—	937	492,400	—

These 15,266 sailing vessels and steamers may be classified, according to tonnage, as follows :—*

Sailing Vessels or Steamers of over 800 tons ...	256
“ “ “ 700 “ ...	53
“ “ “ 600 “ ...	81
“ “ “ 500 “ ...	63
“ “ “ 400 “ ...	115
“ “ “ 300 “ ...	154
“ “ “ 200 “ ...	273
“ “ “ 100 “ ...	744
“ “ “ 60 “ ...	681
“ “ “ 50 “ ...	270
“ “ “ 30 “ ...	1,001
“ “ “ 20 “ ...	1,198
“ “ “ 10 “ ...	1,372
“ “ from 2 to 10 “ ...	9,005

* Vessels under two tons are omitted from this classification.

The French merchant service is, however, far from holding the place which it ought to occupy. In the maritime relations of France with foreign countries, or with the French colonies, it hardly does more than a third of the carrying trade. The following table* gives the movement of international navigation in French ports within the last sixty years :—

ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES COMBINED.

Annual Average for the Period.	FRENCH VESSELS.		FOREIGN VESSELS.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1827—1836	7,422	717,400	10,266	1,100,000
1837—1846	10,988	1,137,000	15,797	1,890,300
1847—1856	14,053	1,716,800	18,930	2,551,900
1857—1866	18,604	3,138,000	27,356	4,342,000
1867—1876	17,439	4,247,700	34,858	7,449,200
1880	17,202	6,632,000	41,348	12,383,000
1885	14,547	8,261,000	34,600	12,499,000
1886	14,414	8,581,400	33,577	12,712,900

Among the foreign flags that of England † comes first ; Germany and Italy stand next on the list.

France has a very large number of commercial ports, more indeed than she requires, and of late years the State has made many sacrifices for their improvement ; but there are really only three (Marseilles, Havre, and Bordeaux) which are great trade centres. The following table will show the "movement"—entries and clearances—of the thirteen principal French ports in 1886, coasting-vessels not included :—

* This table has been borrowed from M. Foville's work, "*La France Économique*."

† See Chap. X.

MOVEMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH PORTS IN 1886.

*Vessels with Cargo only included.**

Ports.	ENTRIES.		CLEARANCES.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Dunkirk	1,928	951,449	869	285,718
Calais	1,915	514,500	1,677	334,587
Boulogne	1,376	410,156	1,215	331,781
Dieppe	1,394	470,746	967	252,055
Havre	2,426	1,955,093	1,512	1,327,262
Rouen	1,326	641,267	884	322,624
Nantes	288	62,318	178	48,744
Saint-Nazaire ...	798	528,094	224	129,137
Bordeaux	1,793	1,066,333	1,575	936,908
Bayonne	330	130,247	507	102,571
Cette	1,537	582,546	1,500	577,393
Marseilles	3,979	3,197,793	4,367	3,330,606
Nice... ..	455	72,291	299	42,300

The postal services and the deep-sea fisheries are included in the foregoing figures.

The subsidised maritime postal services are the following :—

1. Marseilles to Corsica.
2. Marseilles to Algeria.
3. Calais to Dover.
4. Havre to New York.
5. St. Nazaire to the Antilles.
6. Bordeaux to Brazil and La Plata.
7. Marseilles to the Levant.
8. Marseilles to Indo-China.
9. Marseilles to Australia and New Caledonia ; to Réunion and Madagascar.

* The figures show that a large number of ships arriving in France with cargo leave in ballast.

The deep-sea fishery produced in 1885 :—39,784 tons of cod, of which two-thirds were caught off Newfoundland, the rest off Iceland, with boats fitted out chiefly at Fécamp, St. Malo, Granville, and Dunkirk; 44,934 tons of herring; 8,653 tons of mackerel; 39,712 tons of anchovies; 494,078 thousands of sardines.

CHAPTER VII.

LEGAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS :—Judicial system : Civil and Criminal Justice, Courts of different degrees, Judges and Public Ministry, Jury, Ministerial Officers, Barristers, Judiciary assistance ; Administrative Justice, its organs ; Special Courts, Commercial Courts.—Characteristics of French Legislation ; its Origins, the Codes, later Laws.—General Ideas on Nationality, Organisation of the Family, Property, Inheritance.—Police, Penal Procedure, Punishments, Criminality, Récidivistes, Penal Establishments in France, Penal Colonies.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

THE judicial system of France possesses the same character of simplicity and uniformity as its administrative organisation ; it also in its main lines dates from the Consulate, and has undergone very few modifications since.

There are two great classes of Courts—civil and criminal on the one hand, and administrative on the other—side by side with which are a few special Courts.

Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction include—(1) In each canton a *justice of the peace* * (*juge de paix*) ; (2) In each arrondissement a *Court of First Instance*† ; (3) 26 *Courts of Appeal*, at Paris, Agen, Aix, Amiens, Angers, Bastia, Besançon, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Chambéry, Dijon,

* At Paris each municipal arrondissement forms a canton for the administration of justice.

† The department of the Seine has only one court of first instance, at Paris.

Douai, Grenoble, Limoges, Lyons, Montpellier, Nancy, Nîmes, Orléans, Pau, Poitiers, Rennes, Riom, Rouen, and Toulouse,* the area covered by each extending to several departments; (4) a *Court of Cassation*, sitting at Paris, common to the whole of France.

Besides the judges who try the cases, each Court has one or more officials attached to it, who are styled the "*Parquet*" or Public Ministry. Their duties are to conduct all criminal cases, and to assist the judge in the administration of the law in civil cases. They are called the *Parquet* because they address the judge from the floor of the Court. The judges of all ranks and the *Parquet* together form the judicial body in France, which is commonly called the "*Magistrature*."

With the exception of justices of the peace in France and judges of any rank in Algeria and the colonies, all judges are irremovable, i.e., once legally appointed by the Head of the State, on the recommendation and under the responsibility of the Minister of Justice, they cannot be dismissed or displaced against their will without the express consent of the Court of Cassation in its capacity of disciplinary court for the magistracy. On the other hand they are, in the ordinary course, retired when they have reached the limit of age, which varies according to their rank. Justices of the peace and members of the *Parquet* can be dismissed at the will of the Executive power. The promotion of magistrates is entrusted to the Head of the State, who is sole judge in all cases. Their salaries vary from £72 (Justice of the Peace) to £1,200 (Supreme President of the Court of Cassation). The French judicial body forms in all its degrees a distinct career, which a man can enter in his youth, and in which he can pass the whole of his life.

Every court has both civil and criminal jurisdiction.

* There is a Court of Appeal at Algiers.

The Justice of the Peace is a police magistrate for small offences. The Court of First Instance, under the name of Correctional Court, tries all cases which are qualified by the penal law as misdemeanours. The Court of Appeal hears appeals from the Correctional Court, and helps to form the Assize Courts, whose procedure we shall explain later on. The Court of Cassation has jurisdiction in criminal as well as in civil cases. There never is a jury for civil cases; in criminal cases there is one for the Assizes only.

In all cases, civil as well as criminal, there must, except where Justices of the Peace are concerned, be more than one judge upon the bench—three in the Court of First Instance, five in the Court of Appeal, three at the Assizes (over and above the jury), eleven in the Court of Cassation. Judges are always fixed to one place; there are no itinerant courts of justice except in the case of the Assize Courts, as we shall see presently.

The principle of the law is that every case may be heard by at least two courts. If a case has been heard by a Justice of the Peace, appeal may be made to the Court of First Instance of the arrondissement; if the latter has tried it in the first place, the appeal goes to the Court of Appeal within whose radius the Court of First Instance is. To this rule there are only two exceptions. Cases of small importance do not admit of appeal, and are definitely decided by the inferior court, while cases coming within the jurisdiction of the Court of Assizes are never appealed from. The Court of Appeal, or that of First Instance, when acting as appeal-court, can review the decision of the court below both as to law and fact. The Court of Cassation never gives the ultimate decision on a case; it never pronounces on the question of fact, but only on the point of law, or on the competence of the court which gave the original decision. Any decision civil or criminal, even those of the

Assize Courts, can be brought before it in the last resort, and if it pronounces cassation it remits the examination of the case to another court of the same order as that whose decision it has annulled.*

In civil cases the *Justice of the Peace* takes cognisance without appeal of disputes in small debt cases up to the value of 100 francs; and, with appeal, of the same kind of actions up to the value of 200 francs and, in some cases, even up to 1,500 francs, for instance in the cases of dispute between hotel-keepers and travellers, or drivers and travellers, or between landlords and tenants. Whatever may be the value, he also tries cases of damage to fields and crops, and civil cases arising out of alleged breaches of custom-house or octroi regulations, &c. In almost all civil cases, moreover, it is his duty to endeavour to reconcile the parties before the proceedings have definitely begun. In penal cases he may inflict punishments not exceeding 15 francs fine, and five days imprisonment. If the sentence be one of imprisonment, or the fine exceeds 5 francs, his decisions may be appealed from. The Parquet is represented in this court in criminal cases only; its functions are then discharged by a commissioner of police, or a mayor appointed for the purpose.

The *Court of First Instance* consists of a president, one or more vice-presidents, and a variable number of judges, three of whom can form a court with full powers. The Parquet in this Court always comprises a Procurator (*procureur*) of the Republic, and, generally, one or more deputies who are called Substitutes. In civil cases the tribunal takes cognisance of (a) appeals from justices of the

* After cassation, the court to which the case is for the second time referred is not compelled to accept the ruling of the Supreme Court, e.g., on the interpretation given to a legal text. But if the new decision is once more annulled (*cassé*) the third court before which the case comes must this time adopt the ruling of the Court of Cassation, without this ruling becoming thereafter obligatory, however, for another case of the same kind.

peace ; (b) actions relating to personal property to the value of 1,500 francs ; (c) actions relating to land to the value of 60 francs *per annum* ; (d) all cases of registration. In these cases there is no appeal from its decisions. Subject to appeal to the Court of Appeal, the Court of First Instance takes cognisance of all other civil cases. In penal cases it judges all misdemeanours except political and press offences, which generally come before the Court of Assizes. Appeal from its decisions in such cases is always possible.

Each of the 26 *Courts of Appeal* is divided into sections or courts (*chambres*), and each has a head, called the First President (*Premier Président*). In addition to such First President, each section consists of one President (*Président de Chambre*), and four Councillors or Judges (*conseillers*). The First President can sit in any division, and in that case the President of the court ranks as a simple judge. The Parquet in this court is represented by a Procurator-general (*procureur-général*), Advocates-general, and Substitutes. In certain cases it gives a solemn hearing in full court with all its sectional courts united. It hears appeals from all Courts of First Instance. It is only in exceptional cases that it has an original jurisdiction in first instance, and without appeal. For instance, it desires the discharge of a bankrupt, while its criminal jurisdiction extends to offences committed by certain high functionaries (prefects judges, bishops, &c.).

The *Court of Assizes*, which takes cognisance of crimes, has no proper and permanent existence of its own ; it is only a temporary emanation from the Court of Appeal. Every three months a councillor is appointed to take the presidency of the Court of Assizes in each department.* He is assisted by two other "seated" magistrates, and a delegation of the Parquet is formed to discharge the

* The Court of Assizes sits, as a rule, at the chief town of the department.

functions of "public ministry." The court is not complete without the addition of the *jury*. The jury is composed of twelve persons drawn by lot from a list prepared in each canton and arrondissement, and which may not include anyone but Frenchmen of thirty years of age and upwards, able to read and write, in the enjoyment of all their rights, and unaffected by any of the legal grounds of incompetence or exemption, such as age, certain official functions, &c. The list is drawn up for the year. For each of the assizes thirty-six jurymen are drawn by lot, and four substitutes (*suppléants*). The latter are intended to take the place of any of the 36 who may be ill or absent. For each case, twelve names are drawn by lot from the 36, the Parquet and the defendant both having the power to challenge the names proceeding from the ballot-box till only twelve are left. The jury thus formed decides as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. If it finds him guilty, it grants him, if it pleases, "extenuating circumstances," the effect of which is to lessen the penalty provided for the crime. The judges who form the court then pronounce the sentence ordered by the law.

The *Court of Cassation* consists of a First President, three Sectional Presidents, and forty-five Councillors, with a Parquet composed of a Procurator-general and six Advocates-general. It is divided into three sections or courts—the Court of Petitions (*chambre des requêtes*), the Civil Court, and the Criminal Court. Criminal appeal cases are brought directly before the latter. Civil cases, on the contrary, with rare exceptions, are first brought before the Chamber of Petitions, where they undergo a preliminary examination. If the demand for a re-hearing is refused, such refusal is final; if, on the other hand, it is granted, the appeal is brought before the Civil Court, and after the case has been argued, cassation* is granted or refused.

* See p. 189.

To illustrate the general organisation of the ordinary courts in France, we may—notwithstanding many differences—compare the Justices of the Peace to the English County Courts; the Court of First Instance to the High Court of Justice—bearing in mind that there never is a jury in civil cases in France; the Court of Appeal to the English Court of Appeal, reviewing questions both of law and fact; and the Court of Cassation to the House of Lords, deciding only questions of law.

In all courts the proceedings are conducted in the first place by writing; afterwards, in the presence of the court, they are oral and public, witnesses, however, being very seldom heard in civil cases. When a suit is one which affects public morals, the court can order that the case be heard *in camera*. In cases of divorce or judicial separation, press reports of the proceedings are always forbidden; but in all cases the judgment, which is drawn up in writing and preceded by the reasons for it in detail, is given in public.

Except in penal cases before the justice of the peace, no one may plead without being represented by a *solicitor* (*avocat*).* Before the Court of Cassation the functions of the solicitors are performed by the barristers (*avocats*) who plead before both the Council of State and the Court of Cassation. The various deeds drawn up by the solicitors concerned in a case, and the judgments given, are made known to the interested parties by the agency of officers called *huissiers*, whose chief duty is to serve official copies of judgments upon parties. Authentic† wills, acts of sale and gift, &c., must go through the hands of a *notary*. Sales of furniture that has been distrained on are carried out by *official valuers*.

* The services of barristers who address the court are, on the other hand, compulsory in criminal cases only.

† See p. 208.

These various personages who assist in the service of justice are known by the general title of *ministerial officers*. They are appointed by Government, must fulfil certain conditions of capacity, and pay a certain sum of caution money. The number which can be attached to each court* is limited; their fees, paid according to the work they do, are settled by legal tariff. Poor people who are obliged to go to law can obtain from a special committee attached to each court what is known as *judiciary assistance*, which dispenses them from payment of solicitor's and counsel's fees, and also from Court fees and stamp duties.

Barristers, on the contrary, have no official character, and the career is free in the sense that the number of its members is not limited. Barristers must, however, possess the diploma of licentiate in law, and pass a probationary period. They are subject, as a body, to special rules of discipline. Their fees are not settled by tariff.

According to the theory of French law the ordinary tribunals are not competent to judge the acts of the Administration. For this revision another series of courts has been created, forming what is called *Administrative Jurisdiction*. All members of such courts are removable. Its business is to try *le contentieux administratif*, i.e., disputes in which the Administration is concerned.

This *contentieux administratif* includes—

1. Matters which belong to it by special enactment, such as claims for damages against an administrative act which is injurious to a private interest, or the interpretation of a contract which has been concluded between the Administration and a private individual in the interest of a public service.

2. Cases belonging to it by their nature, without any

* In point of fact, the posts of ministerial officers are sold. The Government only intervenes to ratify the selection of the new holder.

special prescription of the law ; such as cases arising out of any act of the authorities damaging to a private interest.

3. Appeals against the acts of some administrative authority on the ground that it had no powers for the act in question, or that it exceeded those powers.*

4. Appeals for the purpose of obtaining an interpretation of the law with respect to an administrative act when this interpretation is necessary for the solution of an administrative or ordinary common-law action.

The organisation of Administrative Jurisdiction does not possess the same simplicity as that of ordinary justice. The Court of Accounts, the Higher Council of Public Education act as administrative judges, each in its own department, for matters which the law devolves upon them specially. But the principal administrative judges are, in the first degree—

1. The *Minister*, for the affairs of his administration wherever the law has not expressly appointed another judge ; for instance, for all contracts about supplies to his department.

2. The *Prefectoral Council*,† when it is made competent for the special case by law ; for instance, in cases of direct taxation (demands for relief from the tax),‡ in cases of the carrying out of contracts for public works, in cases of the financial accounts and book-keeping of minor communes, &c. Sometimes—for offences against the highway regulations, for instance—the prefectoral council even imposes fines. The assistance of a solicitor is not needed before this council. The *Parquet* is represented before it by an official of the Administration, a government-commissioner who is almost always the Secretary-general of the Prefecture.

The *Council of State* discharges at one and the same

* Acts called Governmental are alone excepted. They are considered as political in their nature, and as exempt therefore from all judicial control ; for instance, an irregular decree for the dissolution of a Chamber.

† For its organisation, see Chapter III., p. 102.

‡ Disputes about indirect taxation come before the ordinary courts.

time the functions of Court of Appeal and of Administrative Court of Cassation, according to the case. Before this court are laid all appeals for incompetence or excess of power on the part of an administrative authority. A special section of the Council (the *section du contentieux*) makes a preliminary examination of the cases, and gives final judgment in minor disputes. More important cases are then brought before the special assembly, which includes the members of the "*section du contentieux*," and two representatives of each of the other sections of the Council. In most cases of importance the parties must be represented by a barrister before the Council of State and the Court of Cassation. The sittings are public. The "public ministry" is represented by Masters of Petitions (*maîtres des requêtes*) who perform the functions of government-commissioners.

Conflicts about their respective competence may often arise between different courts. It is possible, for instance, that two Courts of First Instance or two Prefectoral Councils may consider themselves equally competent to try the same case. When the dispute arises between two courts of the same order, the conflict is settled by the jurisdiction immediately above them; by the Court of Appeal, for instance, which decides before which tribunal the case shall be definitively laid. If the dispute arises between an ordinary court on the one hand, and an administrative judge on the other, who is to settle the question, since there is no common jurisdiction superior alike to both orders of jurisdiction? By way of answer to this question, a *Court of Conflicts* (*Tribunal des Conflicts*), composed of an equal number of members of the Court of Cassation and of the Council of State, has been established; and this court, under the presidency of the Minister of Justice, decides whether the ordinary jurisdiction or the administrative jurisdiction shall try the case.

Outside the two great orders of jurisdiction there exist a

certain number of *special tribunals*, the competence of which is determined either by the quality of the persons concerned, or by the nature of the issues. Among these special tribunals are : (a) councils of war, composed of officers, and with two degrees of jurisdiction ; (b) the different councils of public education ;* (c) the Court of Accounts ;† (d) consuls, who in Eastern countries possess civil and police jurisdiction over their fellow-countrymen. The most important of these special tribunals are those which are intended to ensure to traders a speedier, less costly, and more specially competent administration of justice. All of them are attached to the ordinary civil jurisdiction.

For the regulation of disputes between masters and workmen about wages, amount of work to be done, &c., what are called *councils of experts* (*conseils de prud'hommes*) have been instituted, composed of masters and workmen in equal numbers, and elected by the members of one or more trades. Up to the value of 200 francs these tribunals decide without appeal. When more than that sum is involved appeal may be made to the Court of Commerce. If there is no Council of Experts in a town, disputes which come within its province are brought before the Justice of the Peace.

* The *Courts of Commerce* are composed of traders elected for a term of years by the licensed traders of the *arrondissement*, and these commercial judges are unpaid. These courts try (a) appeals from the Councils of Experts, (b) all trade cases involving less than 1,500 francs (£60), without appeal, (c) similar cases of higher value, subject to appeal. It is they, notably, who pronounce bankruptcies. The assistance of solicitors is not necessary in cases that are brought before them, and their procedure is speedier than that of the ordinary courts. At present there are 222 Courts of Commerce in France. When an *arrondisse-*

* See Chapter V., p. 139.

† See Chapter VIII.

ment does not possess one, trade cases are brought before the Court of First Instance, which then follows the rules of commercial procedure. In every case where an appeal is possible, it is made to the ordinary Court of Appeal. Finally, commercial judgments may be brought before the Court of Cassation in the last resort.

Such is the existing organisation of justice in France. It is, as we have seen, remarkable for the great number of courts which it employs. The ordinary jurisdiction alone employs nearly 6,000 magistrates of all ranks. A constant effort has been made to bring justice to the door of the people by multiplying the number of courts; but this system, which had its advantages at a time when communication was difficult, is now beginning to be attacked. There is a desire that the number of courts should be reduced, many of them having too little to do; and the idea of increasing the power of Justices of the Peace is also entertained. The Radical party, lastly, would like the magistrates to be elected instead of being appointed by the Government, but that reform has no chance of being adopted for a long time to come.

In principle each court is competent to try all persons living within its circumscription; a suit must, as a general rule, be brought before the home court of the defendant, or, in the case of a crime, in the circumscription where the crime was committed. To this rule there are, however, a few exceptions. For instance, in an action about land the competent court is the one in whose circumscription the property is situated.

When a court has been seised of a case, what legislation does it apply? In other words, what are the general characteristics of French legislation? We do not here pretend to give a complete account of French law, but only to supply a certain amount of information on the most

interesting subjects, such as the family, inheritance, and criminal procedure, all of which are of great importance to society.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH LEGISLATION.

From the point of view of its origins, French law as a whole goes back to three great sources—Roman law, canon law, and Germanic law, but chiefly to the first and last. In the Middle Ages the South of France was considered as the country of written law, and the North (as far south as Saintonge and Auvergne) as the country of custom law. In the south the influence of Roman law was preponderant, that of Germanic law in the north, although each had already encroached upon the other's territory. There was no unity of legislation—still less, of course, codification. The kings of France had, it is true, made a point of getting official "custom-books" (*coutumiers*) drawn up, but each of these applied only to a single province, and was continually modified by jurisprudence. It was only exceptionally, and with regard to strictly limited subjects, that the royal initiative sought to make up for the diversity of customs, and to establish invariable principles by issuing, for a time, ordinances applicable to the whole country. But even these occasional ordinances often changed, and in the last analysis gave only rules which were by no means exempt from confusion. On the eve of the Revolution there were ordinances in force chiefly with regard to civil and criminal procedure, penal law, and commercial law. The whole of the civil law, on the contrary, was given up to provincial customs. The deep desire for unity and for codification which thus came about had long existed in the country, and was displayed with intense force in the States-General of 1789.

The various revolutionary assemblies (first the Constituent Assembly, next the Convention and the Councils of the

Directory) laid the foundations of the work, which did not come to an issue till the days of the Consulate and the Empire. At that time the following laws were successively promulgated :—

The Civil Code, with 2,281 articles, in 1804.

The Code of Civil Procedure, with 1,042 articles, in 1806.

The Code of Commerce, with 648 articles, in 1807.

The Code of Criminal Instruction, with 648 articles, in 1808.

The Penal Code, with 484 articles, in 1810.*

These last two codes were submitted to a general revision in 1832 ; in 1827 a Forest Code, of 226 articles, was promulgated ; later, the codes for the army and the navy. For twenty years a Rural Code has been in hand. But the basis and bulk of French legislation is to be found in the five great Codes of 1804—1810 (with the exception of the administrative laws, which have never been codified). Since that period the only modifications which these Codes have undergone have been modifications of detail or additions on behalf of subjects which had not been foreseen at the times of their promulgation. The principal changes have been in the Commercial Code.

It must not be imagined that at the times when they were drawn up the Codes made large innovations on the then existing law. On the contrary, particularly as regards the most important of them all—the Civil Code—their framers generally confined themselves to laying down in express articles the current law, the principles commonly admitted by jurisprudence, and the rules laid down by the great lawyers of the last few centuries.† Their endeavour was to

* Laws in France are always named from the date of their promulgation.

† There are, of course, a few exceptions. The introduction of divorce, for instance, was an innovation due to the Revolution. Modified by the Code, divorce was suppressed in 1816 and re-established in 1834.

fix those principles, to co-ordinate them, and to apply them to the whole of France alike. This proceeding undeniably had one immense advantage—that of bringing clearness and unity into French law. But the advantage had its counterpart. In thus stereotyping the state of French law as it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the codifiers, in regard to many subjects, gave it a fixity much to be deplored. Jurisprudence no longer modifies the law by a slow and continuous effort in order to bring it up to date and into accord with the new needs of society, but is itself continually cramped and choked by the articles of the Code, so that the law has lost in flexibility all that it has gained in clearness and precision. The whole of France has become a country of written law, and of law written down to the most trifling detail. And while most of the countries which borrowed its principles of legislation have understood how to accommodate them to the new exigences of society, France has remained behindhand.* The Code which jurisprudence cannot attack to any purpose, despite all the efforts which this same jurisprudence has made to supplement it, can be modified only by a law. Now it is inconceivable how difficult it is to make a law for the modification of a portion of the Code. It is not enough to change a few articles ; it is further necessary, if the Code itself is not to be shattered, to put all the other articles in accord with the new principle to be introduced. So long and so difficult is the task that Parliament almost invariably recoils before it. The Civil Code has, consequently, remained almost fixed throughout all the political or economic modi-

* In order to justify this opinion it is enough to mention two points. The Codes date from a period when the fortunes of individuals were chiefly in land, and when manufacturing industry hardly existed. The consequence is that many of their provisions are inadequate, or even injurious, now that the fortunes of individuals are mainly personal, and that manufacturing industry employs so many workers.

fications which France has undergone. As to the Code of Commerce, it is true that it has been modified in some portions, particularly by a law of 1867 on joint stock companies, and by a jurisprudence much freer and more considerable than that of the civil courts ; but even this Code is far from having received all necessary improvements.

So much for the general legal situation. We must now succinctly state some of the principal provisions of the codes.

CIVIL LAW.

Every person born in France, or of French parents abroad, is French. Anyone born in France of foreign parents may become French at his majority by a simple declaration ; a foreign woman who marries a Frenchman becomes French ; and any foreigner can obtain French nationality after three years' residence in France, with the authorisation of the Head of the State. In the converse cases to those in which it is obtained, French nationality is lost.

All Frenchmen who have attained their majority (21 years) enjoy the same civil rights. No one, as we have said, is obliged to profess any religious belief ; all entries on the register (births, marriages, and deaths) being drawn up by the civil authority (the mayor) without the compulsory intervention of the clergy.*

The *absolute equality* of all Frenchmen in respect of rights is, however, subject to one exception with regard to women. Even an unmarried woman cannot be witness to any public deed, nor take part in a family council. As a widow her rights of discipline with regard to her children are less extensive than those of the father. She cannot be guardian except in the case of her own children. As a married woman she cannot be a party in a suit, make a

* See Chap. IV., p 127.

legal purchase or transfer, contract any sort of obligation, or mortgage property without the authorisation of her husband or of the court. Married or single she has no political rights.

No man can *marry* before attaining the age of 18; no woman before she is 16. The formal permission of the father of a family, or, failing him, of the mother or the grandparents, is necessary in order to marry; otherwise the marriage is null and void. This holds good for a man till 25, or a woman till 21. Even after those ages a man or woman cannot marry without having asked for the paternal consent, and if they cannot obtain it, they can marry without it only after a certain delay, and several formal summons. Marriage is prohibited between blood relations in the ascending and descending lines, between brother and sister legitimate or illegitimate, or between any other relatives of the same degree; but marriages between brother-in-law and sister-in-law, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew may be authorised by a special dispensation from the Head of the State. Marriages must be performed in public and after several public notices have been given.

People can marry with or without a *marriage settlement*. If there be no settlement the system of *community of goods* is held to apply—that is to say, all the personal property which the contracting parties possess at the time of their marriage, and all the personal or real property they acquire afterwards, is held by them in joint ownership, and is divided between them or their legal representatives when the marriage is dissolved, or when the community of goods ceases. The husband has sole administration of the common fortune; the wife's interest is secured by a mortgage on her husband's property. If there be a settlement,* the parties are free to make any stipulations they please, except

* The settlement has to be signed before the marriage in the presence of a notary.

such as are contrary to public order or morality, or to the prohibitions of the law. The Code has, however, fixed the regulations applicable to several special systems of holding property in the married state. *Community of goods* can, for instance, be made applicable merely to the property acquired afterwards (*acquêts*)—that is to say, to the property acquired by the married couple during their marriage. Under the system of the *separation of goods* a woman has free control of her property, and enjoys any income that may arise from it, but she may not transfer her landed property without her husband's consent or that of the court. Both husband and wife contribute to the expenses of married life—the woman to the amount of a third of her income, unless another arrangement has been made. With the *dowry system*, which is especially in vogue in the south, landed property given as dowry cannot be sold or mortgaged except in certain cases provided by the law, such as starting children in life, freeing a husband or wife from prison, providing necessary food for the family, &c. When personal property is given as dowry, the husband is under this system responsible for its value, and may be compelled by the settlement to use it only for specified purposes or investments. These various systems can, moreover, be combined together, according to the wishes of the parties concerned. Several clauses may be added to a settlement, such as community for the property acquired during marriage, and donations in case of death, but it can never be modified during a marriage except in so far that married couples have the right to make each other donations, and to leave wills in favour of one another under the general conditions which will be given later.

The marriage tie can be relaxed by judicial separation, or broken, with power to marry again, by divorce. *Judicial separation* and *divorce* are granted by the courts, but only for specified causes, namely, adultery of either husband or

wife, outrage, cruelty, serious injury, or the condemnation of husband or wife to certain criminal penalties. Judicial separation involves separation of property, and, after three years have passed, may be converted by the court into a divorce. A woman who has been divorced, like a widow, can only re-marry ten months after the first marriage has been dissolved. In both cases the court decides as to the custody of the children.

The children* born of a marriage are placed under the *father's authority*, who till their majority (21) has the right of custody and punishment over them. He may go so far as to put his son in prison for some months, with the consent of the President of the Civil Court; and until his children are 18 is permitted by law to have the beneficial use of their property. When one parent dies during the minority of a child the surviving parent becomes its *guardian*. If father and mother both die, the guardianship falls to a grandparent, or, failing him, to an individual chosen by a family council, which includes three relations or friends on the father's side, and three on the mother's, and which meets under the presidency of a Justice of the Peace. A deputy-guardian is appointed to act, if need be, as substitute for the guardian, and to keep an eye on his proceedings. The minor is *emancipated* of full right by marriage; the non-married minor can be emancipated by declaration of the father or mother after the age of 15, or of the family council after 18. In such a case the minor has administrative power over his property, under the supervision of a *curator*. On the other hand, a

* Natural children may be recognised by their parents, but no attempt to identify the father is allowed by law. Natural children have rights less considerable than those enjoyed by legitimate children to the inheritance of their parents. They may be legitimised by the subsequent marriage of the father, provided the deed of recognition be made at latest at the time of celebrating the marriage. Adoption is permitted by the Code, but under conditions so strictly limited that it is extremely rare.

person who has attained his majority may, in case of prodigal extravagance or madness, see himself put back by legal decision into a position analogous to that of a minor.

It need hardly be said that *freedom of property* is insured by French law. No traces of feudal rights any longer exist. Confiscation is abolished. No one can be dispossessed of his property except for some object of public usefulness (which object must, as a rule, be specified by law), and in consideration of a prior indemnity, the amount of which is fixed by a special jury composed of landed proprietors of the district. Any landed estate may be bought by any person, provided certain formalities prescribed by the law are complied with, and the same applies to mortgage or sale. Between a landed proprietor and his land there are no intervening obstacles—nothing like entail, or even such tenures as those which exist in England under the names of copyhold and long leasehold. Leases, when they exist, are generally for rather short periods, nine years being a customary term, and the circulation of landed property may in fact be said to be free except in so far as the rights of mortgagees upon the price of a sale are concerned.

But if this be the case with individuals, it is not so with associations. It is an ancient principle of French law that an association cannot possess property unless it be specially authorised by law. The legislator has always opposed obstacles to the constitution of property in *mortmain*. Such property being owned by corporations, which are in their nature perpetual, escapes the somewhat heavy succession duties, which amount sometimes to 11 per cent., and which are so heavy a charge on private properties. When the law has authorised them, it has imposed on them a special annual substitution-tax, called the Mortmain Tax. The right to hold property is, as a rule, granted to commercial associations freely founded, subject to certain formalities of publicity. But when an association has not a commercial

or industrial object, it may only hold property if it be recognised as an institution of public utility (generally by a decree of the Head of the State), and as such subjected to a certain State guardianship.

The question of *inheritance*, and consequently that of the concentration of property in a greater or less number of hands, is of extreme importance, economically and socially. It has been settled in France in accordance with the same principles of equality which are to be met with in all other questions settled by law, and the system has had consequences which greatly preoccupy certain minds just now.

When a man dies without leaving a will, his property, whether real or personal, is divided equally among his children. If one of his children has died, leaving children of his own, the latter, whatever their number, are only entitled to the share which their father would have had, were he still living. If the deceased leaves no children, a fourth part of the inheritance passes to his father, a fourth part to his mother, and the rest to his brothers and sisters or their descendants. If neither father nor mother is living, everything goes to the brothers and sisters. If he leaves neither descendants, nor father and mother, nor brothers and sisters, the property is divided into two equal parts, one of which goes to his nearest relations on the father's side, the other to those on the mother's side, as far as the twelfth degree of affinity.* Failing relations of the twelfth degree on one side, everything goes to the relations on the other side; failing relations on both sides, the inheritance goes to the husband or wife, and if there be none, to the State.

* The number of degrees is the number of generations separating two persons of the same family, counting back from one of the two up to the common ancestor, and then counting back from the ancestor to the other. Two brothers, for instance, are relations in the second degree, as there is a generation between each of them and their common author, the father.

If the deceased, however, was of age, or emancipated, he might have made a *will*. Wills may be made in various forms, but the two principal are: the authentic or public will, dictated to a notary in the presence of two witnesses; and the holograph will, the only necessary condition attached to which is that it must be written in full, dated and signed by the hand of the testator. Both may be changed at any time. But is not the testator even free, when he is making a will, to dispose of his fortune as he pleases? By no means. He cannot deprive his children entirely of his property if he has children, or, failing them, his kindred in the ascending line. The latter are heirs with reserved rights (*héritiers réservataires*) for a part of his fortune. In either case he can dispose freely of only a fraction of his property, which is the disposable quota (*quotité disponible*). When there is one child, this *disposable quota* is half the property; when there are two children, a third; when there are three or more children, a fourth part. If there be no children, the disposable quota is half when there are blood-relations in the ascending line on both sides, and three-quarters when there are such relations on one side only. It is only when there are neither ascendants nor descendants that the testator can freely dispose of his entire fortune. But when either the one or the other exist, their reserved rights as heirs come into play, not only against the testator's will, but also against any deeds of gift he may have made. If a deed of gift made during his lifetime by the deceased exceed the disposable quota of his realised assets at the time of his death, the excess must be repaid.*

But this is not all. If the heirs cannot agree upon a friendly *division of the property*, they must each be given not only a share of equal value, but an equal share of each actual species of property included in the inheritance; and

* Certain persons cannot receive legacies or donations—*e.g.*, the doctor, the priest who has received the confession of the deceased, &c.

if such a division be not possible, the property is sold, so that the money it brings may be divided. A parent can, however, during his lifetime or in his will force a compulsory division upon his heirs. But this division is subject to the rules of the disposable quota, and may, besides, be attacked when one of the co-heirs is dispossessed of more than a quarter of his share. That is to say, that the man who owns a large farm or factory is, in the greater number of cases, obliged to let his property be parcelled out among his children, or have it sold unless one of the heirs is willing to buy it on his own exclusive account. As, on the other hand, trusts (*substitutions fidei-commissaires*) are forbidden, no means exist by which a man can either insure the preservation, in its entirety, of a great industry, or give one of his heirs a larger fortune than that of the others, except within the limits of the disposable quota.

This legislation is certainly in conformity with the habits of the people, since testators hardly ever profit by the freedom, however restricted, allowed them by the Code ; but it has had some serious consequences on French society. It weakens the authority of the father of the family in the sense that, being unable to disinherit his children, his remonstrances are often devoid of sanction. Further, the father who has to look forward to the subdivision of his property is anxious that each of his children should maintain much the same style of living as his own ; and, in order to gain this end, often thinks himself obliged to have very few children. Finally the child, knowing himself sure of a competence sooner or later, is not driven by necessity to look out for a really active and lucrative career.* The question of a reform in the law on this matter has often been discussed. Some have advocated freedom of bequest ; others an increase of the disposable quota ; others, again, would restrict the number of relations who can inherit where there is no will. But there

* See Chapter VIII. for what is said about subdivision of property.

is small probability that in the existing state of French feeling and French manners, reform is near. A change in the law would, moreover, clash with deep-rooted habits.*

CRIMINAL LAW.

If we pass from the civil law to the criminal law, we shall see that the legislator has taken less care to secure individual liberty than to guarantee civil equality. No doubt the Penal Code contains some excellent provisions on the former point. No one can be arrested except under the forms and conditions provided by the law and on a duly authorised writ. The privacy of a man's correspondence is assured; a man's house is inviolable, in the sense that no authority can enter it without a writ, and that no legal search can be made during certain hours of the night.† Illegal arrests and arbitrary imprisonments are severely punished. Unfortunately, other provisions of the same Code and of several other laws‡ rob these excellent provisions of much of their value. Arrests are still made as mere measure of police, and without any real legal authority, particularly in the case of women of bad character; and, as a general thing, the

* Acceptance of an inheritance is never compulsory. If the heir calculates that the debts exceed the assets, he may refuse to inherit. If he is merely doubtful, he may accept provisionally (*sous bénéfice d'inventaire*)—that is to say, only make up his mind after all litigious business involved in the inheritance has been settled.

† Strangers residing in France may be expelled from the territory by simple decree of the Executive power. The various guarantees for individual freedom, as also the freedom of the press and of meeting, can be suspended by the state of siege, which invests the military authority with almost dictatorial powers. But since 1878 the state of siege can only be created by a special law, or, in case of the absence of Parliament, by a decree of the Head of the State. In the latter case, Parliament meets directly of full right, and decides whether the state of siege shall be maintained or raised.

‡ The revision of the Penal Code and of the Code of Criminal Instruction in 1832 was effected in a liberal sense; but much still remains to be done in that direction, and new projects of revision are now in preparation.

principle of the separation of powers nearly always frees officials from the responsibility of the abuses which they may commit ; nor has a citizen illegally arrested any right to compensation. The following statement shows the actual working of the system :—

The work of *police* is done in France (1) by police-commissioners, who are under the orders of the Ministry of the Interior, and who are distributed in all the important centres ; (2) by municipal police agents and country constabulary (*gardes champêtres*) ; (3) by gendarmes with military organisation, three or four of whom are, as a rule, to be found in each canton. Arrests are almost always effected by these officers, even before the case has been regularly brought before a judge. But the arrest once effected, the affair is placed in the hands of the Examining Magistrate (*juge d'instruction*), at the instance of the procurator of the Republic when a crime or misdemeanour is in question ; if it be merely a case of trivial offence (*délit*), the Parquet brings the matter directly before the Justice of the Peace.

The *Examining Magistrate* is a judge of the Court of First Instance who is spécialement entrusted with the preparation of cases falling within the jurisdiction of Assize Courts or Correctional Courts. It is he who gives the order for the accused person's retention in prison or who, in certain cases, orders his provisional liberation. This liberation is sometimes, but rarely, compulsory. He can also order the accused to be kept in close confinement, *i.e.*, to be allowed communication with no one, not even his counsel, before the close of the examination. The judge conducts the whole inquiry, hears witnesses, directs legal searches at his own discretion, and without the assistance of the counsel. When the proofs are collected and the opinion of the judge formed, he takes one of the following decisions : either to dismiss the case or to refer it to the Correctional Court if a misdemeanour be in question, or to the Chamber of

Indictments if a crime. From that moment the papers (*dossier*) of the case are communicated to the counsel.*

The Chamber of Indictments (*Chambre des mises en accusation*) is a chamber of the Court of Appeal. It decides finally, but without public discussion, whether the accused shall be sent for trial to the assizes. If this be ordered, the Court of Assizes is seised of the case. The Procurator-general or one of his deputies conducts the prosecution. The president of the court himself questions the witnesses who are called. After both sides have been heard, the jury pronounces, by a majority of votes, as to the guilt of the accused, and if it convicts, the court pronounces sentence.

The *penalties* provided by the law for crime are : death, a punishment which cannot be inflicted for political offences, and which is carried out by means of the guillotine ; penal servitude for life, or for a term of years, which since 1854 has meant transportation to Guiana or New Caledonia ;† deportation, for political offences, which is made to the latter colony, and is always for life ; detention, a political punishment which is carried out in France at the Île St. Marguerite, and lasts from five to twenty years ; confinement (*réclusion*), which lasts from five to ten years, and is undergone in prisons on the French mainland ; exile, a political punishment which lasts from five to ten years ; and civil degradation, which involves the deprivation of political rights and of several public and family rights. In correctional court cases the penalties are : imprisonment for from six days to five years ; the detention of youthful criminals in houses of correction or reforma-

* The evidence of witnesses is not reported verbatim.

† Convicts sentenced to more than eight years' penal servitude can never leave the colony. If condemned to a less period than eight years, they are obliged after their liberation to remain in the colony for a period equal to their time of sentence. Those who are liberated receive a grant of land.

tories;* and the deprivation of certain civil and family rights. In mere police cases the penalty is imprisonment from one to five days. There are certain other penalties as well, which may be inflicted concurrently, such as prohibition of residence in certain specified places; fine; confiscation of the *corpus delicti*, &c. Most correctional and criminal penalties also involve certain civil and political disqualifications.

Every sort of crime or misdemeanour involves the infliction of a specified penalty, and the judge can only choose between the maximum and the minimum of such penalty. The Correctional Court, however, or the jury in a Court of Assizes, may find extenuating circumstances for the accused; and if this is the case, the penalty inflicted is reduced by one or more degrees. Finally, when a prisoner has been definitively condemned, the Head of the State possesses a right of which he makes frequent use—that of granting a full pardon, or of remitting a portion of the penalty, or commuting it by the substitution of a milder punishment. The system of ticket-of-leave for convicts whose conduct has been satisfactory has recently been inaugurated. On the other hand, if, under certain conditions, previous convictions are proved against the accused, the penalties are made heavier. But the constant increase in the numbers of criminals previously convicted (*récidivistes*) has necessitated new precautionary measures. In 1885 a new law laid it down that after a certain number of condemnations undergone within a period of ten years (two to seven, according to their gravity), the guilty persons should

* Confinement and imprisonment for more than a year are carried out in central prisons (*maisons centrales*), which are State property; imprisonment for less than a year, and preventive imprisonment before sentence, in departmental prisons which are directed by the State, but are the property of the departments. As to reformatories, there are public and private ones; the latter are only under the supervision of the State.

be transported to a colony for life. Guiana and New Caledonia are used for this purpose.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Some information as to *crime in France* is here necessary. It will be seen, in spite of what has been said about criminals previously convicted (*récidivistes*), and the inadequacy of the reformatory system denoted thereby, that the general results are not unsatisfactory.

During the period of five years from 1881 to 1885 the annual average figures were the following :—

	Number of Cases.	Number of Accused.	Proportion between the Number of Cases and that of the preceding quin- quennial period.	Proportion between the Number of Accused and the Total Population.
Assize Courts	3,342*	4,382	— 3 per 100	1.1 } per 10,000 Inhabitants
Correctional Courts..	180,806	212,839	+ 9.6 „	56 „
Police Courts	383,949	466,823	+ 0.3 „	100 „

Among the cases brought before the Assize Courts there were, on an average, 1,601 crimes against the person 1,742 crimes against property. Offences coming within the competence of the correctional courts include 23,653 cases of vagrancy and begging (figures which show a great increase, owing to the economic crisis), and 22,705 fiscal and forest-law offences. Of mere police-court cases, 31 per cent. were cases of drunkenness in the streets, a class of offences which has diminished by one-fifth since the law passed for their repression in 1873. Of the accused persons brought before the Assize Courts and the Correc-

* Excluding 179 political or press cases.

tional Courts 86 per cent. are men. There are 9 per cent. of foreigners among the individuals tried at the assizes.

The proportion of defendants who were acquitted in the Assize courts during the same period was 27 per cent., while 74 per cent. obtained extenuating circumstances. Before the Correctional Courts the respective proportions have been only 6 and 62 per cent. In the police courts the acquittals are only 3 per cent. The jury, which exists only in the Assize Courts, has, therefore, a marked tendency to indulgence. It is much more indulgent to crimes against the person than to those against property, in which latter cases acquittals are only 19 per cent.; and it is even more indulgent to political and press cases, where the acquittals rise to 54 per cent.

The average number of sentences pronounced by the assize courts, classified according to the nature of the penalty, was as follows:—

Capital punishment	...	...	...	...	29 *
Penal servitude : for life	...	...	...	...	120
" " for more than 20 years	...	...	...	...	88
" " " " " 8 "	...	...	...	...	391
" " " less " 8 "	...	...	...	...	311
Confinement : for more than 10 years	...	...	...	...	8
" for from 5 to 10 years...	...	...	...	...	627
Imprisonment : for more than 1 year	...	...	...	...	1,316
" " less " " "	...	...	...	...	272
Fine only	...	...	...	...	4

In the correctional courts 3 per cent. of those convicted were sentenced to more than one year's imprisonment, 60 per cent. to less than a year, 37 per cent. to fine only; in the police courts 10 per cent. were sentenced to imprisonment, the rest to a fine.

As regards the rapidity of legal proceedings in France,

* Out of 148 persons sentenced to death from 1881 to 1885, twenty-seven only were executed; the others were respited.

there is not much ground for complaint. Eighty-six per cent. of criminal cases are terminated in six months from their inception; 80 per cent. of correctional cases in the first month, the remainder in the second. Out of ten persons arrested and who were either acquitted, or whose case was dismissed, eight remained less than a month in prison. Finally, an average of 4,054 persons are provisionally set at liberty with or without bail, and fifty-three only of the persons thus favoured fail to present themselves when called upon.*

Of police-court sentences, a fifth are, as a rule, liable to appeal, but hardly more than 7 per 1,000 were actually impeached, and six out of ten sentences appealed against were simply re-affirmed. In cases brought before Correctional Courts, 5.2 sentences per cent. were appealed from; of these, 73 per cent. were confirmed by the higher court. In the case of sentences of the Assize Courts, against which there is no appeal, on questions of fact, 663 were referred to the Court of Cassation, and of that number, 32 (or 8 per cent.) were invalidated (*cassés*). Speaking more generally, the criminal chamber of the Court of Cassation dismisses 85 per cent. of the appeals referred to it.

The *récidivistes* condemned in criminal or correctional courts number, on an average, 85,397, or 48 per cent. of the total condemned—an increase of 4 per cent. on the preceding five-year period.† In cases that come before the Assize Courts 23 per cent. of the women, and 56 per cent. of the men, are *récidivistes*; before the Correctional Courts the figures are 35 per cent. of the women, and 49 per cent. of the men. Of 5,495 men who were released from the various reformatory institutions in 1883, after having undergone confinement in them, or more than one year's imprisonment,

* There are, on an average, 225,700 prosecutions abandoned every year in default of evidence or for some other reason.

† In 1885 the number of *récidivistes* was as high as 89,634.

2,196, or two-fifths, were re-arrested and re-convicted before the end of 1885. Of 887 women set at liberty, the proportion of fresh condemnations in the same space of time was one-fourth.

The population of the *prisons and reformatories (établissements pénitenciaires)* remains to be given. For those in continental France and Algeria the Budget of 1887 gave the following figures :—

Continental France	}	Central prisons (<i>maisons centrales</i>)...	13,875 prisoners.
		Departmental prisons	23,950
		Provisional dépôt for convicts ...	300
		Field-reformatories in Corsica ...	1,100
		Public institutions for young prisoners	2,100
		Private institutions for young prisoners	3,799
Algeria		Various institutions	5,585
Total			50,709

The population of the *colonial establishments* set apart for transported convicts who have been sentenced to penal servitude is as follows :—

	Total Number of Transported		Number of Convicts on 31st Dec., 1884.	Escapes	
	Since 1852.	Since 1864.		From the beginning.	In 1884.
French Guiana...	24,680	—	3,568	3,242	333
New Caledonia..	—	15,923	9,810*	381	19

These figures will show how factitious is the agitation which professes to represent the existence of these convict-colonies as a serious danger to the neighbourhood.

* Of whom 2,438 were liberated, but compelled to reside in the colony ; there were also 979 men who had been liberated after working out their time, but who were living there voluntarily.

The recommitment of habitual *récidivistes* prescribed by the law of May 27th, 1885, is too recent for any general statements of results to be possible. From 1885 to January 1st, 1887, 1,448 persons were sentenced to relegation, *i.e.*, 1·2 per cent. of the total number of those condemned, and 2 per cent. of the total number of *récidivistes*. Every man condemned to relegation averaged fifteen previous condemnations. The first convoy of relegated convicts left France in November, 1886, carrying 300 of them to the Isle of Pines (New Caledonia). It is estimated that when the law of 1885 has produced all its effects, there will be 1,500 individuals to be transported every year.

CHAPTER VIII.

ECONOMIC FRANCE.*

CONTENTS :—Statistics of Employments.—Agriculture; Subdivision of Landed Property ; Distribution of the different Crops ; Methods of Cultivation ; Agricultural Population ; Products.—Agricultural Manufacture ; Artisan Population ; Wages ; Mines and Factories of different Kinds.—Carriage ; Roads, Canals, and Railways.—Home and Foreign Trade ; Customs system.—Posts and Telegraphs.—Money ; Metrical System.—Banking ; Bank of France ; Savings' Banks ; Pawnshops.—Public Wealth.—Public Finances ; Revenue and Expenditure of the State, the Departments, and the Communes ; Direct and Indirect Taxes, Monopolies, and Domain Lands ; Public Debt ; Administrative Expenditure. The Budget : its Preparation, Voting, Execution ; its Control by the Court of Accounts and by Parliament.

STATISTICS OF EMPLOYMENTS.

ALTHOUGH the statistics of population in France have been given in Chapter I. according to the census of May, 1886, the details of that census are not yet fully known, and therefore a large number of the following particulars follow the returns of 1881.

If we examine the number of individuals in each group of employments, who live either directly by the produce of their personal labour or indirectly by the labour of the head of the family, or of the master, we arrive at the following results :—

* Most of the figures given in this chapter are borrowed from an excellent manual which has appeared recently, called "La France Économique," by A. de Foville (Paris : Colin and Guillaumin, 1887).

Employments.	Number of persons employed (millions).	Proportion per 100 Inhabitants.
Agriculture	18.3	50
Manufactures	9.3	25.6
Commerce	3.8	10.5
Carrying Trade and Merchant Services	0.8	2.2
Military and Naval Services	0.6	1.5
Liberal Professions	1.6	4.4
Persons Living exclusively on their Incomes ...	2.1	5.8
Persons unclassified, or whose Employments are unknown	0.9	—

If, on the other hand, we inquire as to the distribution of persons gaining their livelihood directly from their labour, we shall get the following results:—

Agriculture.

Proprietors cultivating their own land ...	2,425,000
Small proprietors working as farm-labourers	772,000
Farmers or <i>métayers</i>	1,011,000
Foresters, wood-cutters, and charcoal burners	112,000
Total	4,320,000

Manufactures

Employers	1,169,500
<i>Employés</i> or clerks	243,000
Workmen	3,031,000
Total	4,443,500

Commerce.

Bankers and wholesale dealers	90,000
Retail dealers	528,000
Innkeepers, keepers of <i>cafés</i> , &c.	320,000
Total	938,000

* The figures here given do not always correspond with those which will be found later on. This discrepancy arises partly from the fact that the Census only gives the *principal* employment of persons enumerated.

The Carrying Trade and Merchant Service.

Owners of vessels	63,000
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<i>The Army and Navy</i>	432,000
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The Liberal Professions.

Officials or <i>employés</i> in the Civil Service	313,000
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Ministers of religion	51,500
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Members of religious communities : Men	14,600
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" " " Women.					63,200
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Magistrates, barristers, notaries, &c.	31,500
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Doctors, chemists, veterinary surgeons, &c.	42,500
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Teachers in Voluntary schools	42,200
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Artists of all sorts	40,200
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Savants, publicists, &c.	7,400
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Total	606,100
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Persons living on the Interest of Investments, &c.

Persons living on interest of investments, or proprietors not cultivating their land themselves...	811,500
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State pensioners	109,700
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Total	921,200
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We need not here dwell upon certain employments which have received special attention in past chapters ; but a close examination of those which are directly connected with the economic situation of the country will not be out of place.

AGRICULTURE.

France has the reputation, particularly in England, of being a country where *landed property* is extremely subdivided, and the popular impression corresponds with the

facts ; but the mistake is commonly made of attributing this state of things exclusively to the consequences of the legislative work of the Revolution, especially to the equal division of inheritances which it proclaimed. This law of equal division already existed in many provinces of pre-Revolutionary France, and the most trustworthy estimates point to the conclusion that in 1789 there were about four million landed proprietors in the country. At present the number, as nearly as can be ascertained, is eight millions ; but this figure is necessarily to a certain extent arbitrary, since the only positive information which the official documents supply is the number of land-assessments (*cotes foncières*)—i.e., of persons paying land-tax for the property in their possession in each commune. The number of such assessments is fourteen millions, but as it frequently happens that one and the same person possesses landed property in several communes, the total is in excess of the actual number of proprietors.

The following tables, drawn up in 1884, show the classification of these fourteen million holdings in respect of size :—

Size of Properties.	Number of Assessments.	Proportion per 100 Assessments.	Number of Acres.	Proportion per 100 Acres.
Very Small Properties (0 to 5 Acres)	10,426,368	74·09	12,851,075	10·53
Small Properties (5 to 15 Acres)	2,174,188	15·47	18,640,688	15·26
Medium Properties (15 to 120 Acres)	1,351,499	9·58	47,490,166	38·94
Large Properties (120 to 500 Acres)	105,070	0·74	23,174,522	19·04
Very Large Properties (over 500 Acres)	17,676	0·12	19,812,498	16·23
Total	14,074,801	100	121,968,949	100

It is evident, therefore, that the generally-received ideas about France must to a certain extent be corrected. The number of proprietors in France is no doubt very considerable; France is, nevertheless, a country of medium rather than small properties, since the holdings of less than fifteen acres, which number 12,600,556, cover scarcely more than the fourth part (25·79 per cent.) of the total superficies of the country, while large properties (over 120 acres) occupy more than a third (35·27 per cent.). It is none the less true that in that large number of proprietors lies a vital element of the social organisation of the country. If, on the one hand, very large landed properties are extremely rare in France, on the other hand, there are few peasants who do not possess a bit of land. This small holding is not always enough to support the owner and his family—far from it—but the family supplement their resources by hiring out their labour, or by adding some trade or other to their little farming business; and the possession of a fraction of the soil, however tiny, gives them a great power of resistance—nay, even in spite of appearances to the contrary—a profoundly steady and conservative turn of mind.

It is in the poorer parts of the country (in the region of the Alps, in the Landes, &c.) that the average size of properties is largest. In the rich departments, on the contrary, such as the Seine-et-Oise, or the Somme, and in Normandy the average is much lower.

A valuation of agricultural land was made in 1879, but it is hardly accurate at present, on account of the cruel agricultural crisis which has visited France, and which has depreciated property enormously. It may, however, be interesting to the reader to see the results here. The value of land not used for building purposes was returned as follows:—

Kind of Land.	Average Value per Acre.	Total Value.
	£ s.	£
1,719,816 Acres of Best Land	89 1	153,160,000
64,675,954 „ Arable Land	35 11	2,300,600,000
12,350,058 „ Meadows and Grass		
Land	47 18	591,960,000
5,732,720 „ Vineyards	48 1	275,520,000
20,748,987 „ Woods	12 1	250,280,000
16,671,837 „ Landes	3 7	55,800,000
1,737,113 „ Miscellaneous Crops...	20 15	36,040,000
123,636,485		3,663,360,000

This value, which had increased by 43·5 per cent. from 1851 to 1879,* has fallen within the last eight years to the extent of 20 to 25 per cent. in certain districts, but it is impossible to give an exact tabular survey of the fall.

With respect to land used for building purposes, the Government return for 1885 fixes the number of houses at 8,975,000, among which are 42,000 country-houses (*châteaux*) and 138,000 factories—public edifices and farm buildings are not included. On this point it is to be observed that it is not the custom in the great French towns for one family to occupy a separate house, but to rent a floor only. Hence it is that Paris contains only 74,000 houses. The value of residential land is estimated at about 40 milliards (£1,600,000,000).

Half the agricultural soil of France is cultivated directly by the owner, with or without the help of outside labour. Of the other half, three-fourths is held by farmers, and the remaining fourth by *métayers*. The farmer takes a piece of land on lease for several years, under condition of paying

* The average value of the hectare (2·471 acres) was 500 francs in 1789, 700 in 1815, 800 in 1821, 1,000 in 1835 or thereabouts, 1250 in 1851, 1850 in 1862, and 2,000 in 1879; i.e., it has quadrupled in 90 years.

an annual rent to the owner ; the *métayer* works the land and halves the produce with the owner. The *métayer* system is especially practised in the south-west. Both farmers and *métayers* may be obliged to make use of day-labourers or farm-servants, hired by the year. The average price of a day's farm-labour was reckoned at two francs in 1787—a sum which was half as much again as it had been fifty years earlier. In the neighbourhood of great towns it is, as may be imagined, much higher ; in Brittany and the basin of the Garonne, on the other hand, it is very low.

The extreme smallness of most French farms has adversely influenced production. The proprietors, in fact, are far from always having at their command the necessary capital either to buy agricultural machines to replace manual labour, or the manures which are indispensable for the high farming (*culture intensive*) required in an old country. It is true that in certain provinces associations have been formed to buy artificial manures cheaply and on credit, or to procure implements, such as threshing machines, which are used by the members of the association in turn ; but as a general thing the conditions of French agriculture have prevented the cultivation of the soil from assuming to such an extent as in other countries the character of a manufacture. Hence its inferiority from the point of view of the crop produced on a given surface.

Cereals, for instance, occupy about 29 per cent. of the territory, but the average yield of wheat is barely 18 to 20 bushels per acre ; and although this result is twice as large as that which was obtained in France at the beginning of the century, it still remains lower than that shown by certain foreign countries at the present time. In an average year France harvests 275,000,000 bushels of wheat (17,298,000 acres), the average price being 4s. 8d. per bushel in 1886 ; but, as is well known, the French are great bread-eaters (the kilogramme, 2·20 lbs. avoirdupois, of best bread costs from

22 to 45 centimes, according to the district), and the average consumption in the country of grain and flour reaches 341 million bushels. Hence it becomes necessary to import a certain quantity of corn either from Russia, the United States, or British India. Of late years, in view of the constant fall in the price of corn, Parliament has not, however, hesitated to place a duty upon imported corn—first of three francs, afterwards of five francs, per quintal.*

The other cereals cultivated in France are, in order of importance :—

Cereal.	Acres (round numbers.)	Millions of Bushels produced in 1885.
Oats	9,113,000	236,208,119
Rye	4,100,000	66,204,472
Barley	2,400,000	47,892,457
Buckwheat	1,500,000	23,722,375
Indian Corn	1,500,000	24,822,375

The area of rye and barley under cultivation has a tendency to decrease, and to be replaced by wheat. Indian corn (which is used in the south to make a species of bread) and buckwheat (generally used as food for cattle) remain stationary. The area under oats is, on the other hand, extending considerably with the extension of horse-breeding. The oats grown as a rule are light (47 to 50 kilogrammes per hectolitre), and fetched less than 8 francs per hectolitre in 1887.

Of the other crops which are grown in France, the following must be mentioned (1885) :—

* A quintal is equivalent to 100 kilogrammes (220 lbs.), and 75 kilogrammes of corn (165 lbs.) are generally reckoned to a hectolitre (22·01 gallons).

Crop.	Acres (round num- bers.)	Quintals (round num- bers).	Average Value per Quintal.
Potatoes	3,500,000	112,500,000	5 frs. 16
Beetroot for Cattle	744,000	73,000,000	2 frs. 11
Clover	2,500,000	42,500,000	5 frs. 49
Lucerne	1,970,000	38,500,000	5 frs. 94
Sainfoin	1,480,000	22,500,000	6 frs. 01
Natural Grasses	12,400,000	196,000,000	5 frs. 78
Beetroot for Sugar Manufacture	480,000	55,000,000	2 frs. 01
Colza	200,000	1,000,000	27 frs. 16
Hemp	150,000	500,000	83 frs. 06
Flax	100,000	400,000	97 frs. 09
Tobacco	35,000	200,000	79 frs. 85

To these must be added chestnuts, walnuts, olives, vegetables, &c., which only cover a very small extent of country.

Forests cover an area of more than 22,240,290 acres, two-thirds of which is private property, the rest belonging to the communes (4,942,286 acres) and to the State, and yielding an average of 3 cubic mètres (105·9 cubic feet) of timber per hectare (2·47 acres) per year. The supply of home-grown wood does not, however, meet the demand of France, 150 million francs' worth (£6,000,000), chiefly deal and oak, being imported annually.

But of all crops that of the vine has long been, and perhaps by the efforts of the proprietors may again become, the most really national of all. The acreage of vineyards, after spreading steadily till it covered 6,382,408 acres in 1873, sank to 2,868,152 acres in 1885 under the influence of a terrible malady—the phylloxera—which almost completely ruined several departments. The production of wine, which in 1875 was 1,936 million gallons, has now sunk to 682 million gallons; and the average yield per hectare (2·47 acres) has fallen from 770 to 352 gallons. From the Côte-d'Or to the Lower Pyrenees,

from the Loiret to Corsica, there is not one vine-growing department which has not been more or less attacked, and, but for the courage of the growers—who uprooted the old stocks to make way for new cuttings—the damage would be still more serious. Prices, it is true, have risen. In 1875 the average price realised by the grower was 21 frs. per hectolitre (about 9d. per gallon); by the wholesale dealer, 31 frs. (1s. 2d.), and 54 frs. (1s. 11d.) by the retail dealer. In 1885 the corresponding prices were 40 frs. (1s. 5d.), 53 frs. (1s. 10d.), and 76 frs. (2s. 9d.) for ordinary wines. Nevertheless, France has lost enormous sums. Formerly she exported 55 million gallons annually, and imported less than 22 millions; at present she exports almost the same quantity, but imports 242 million gallons, three-fourths of it from Spain. Nor is this the first of such crises which French viticulture has undergone. In 1854, under the influence of blight (*oidium*), the produce of the wine-crop fell to 230 million gallons; but rose again subsequently by gradual steps, which became more rapid after 1863.

Among the other *beverages* made in France a cursory mention of the following will suffice:—Cider (440,000,000 gallons in 1885, chiefly in the West), beer (176,000,000 gallons, chiefly in the North), and alcohol (41,008,000 gallons at 90 degrees). The average retail prices in 1885 were—cider 8d. per gallon, beer 1s. 10d., and alcohol 1s. 9d. (not including the tax of £6 5s.)

Of animals for farm purposes and for food there were in 1885—

Horses	...	2,911,000
Mules	...	239,000
Donkeys	...	387,000
Bulls	...	322,000
Oxen	...	1,873,000
Cows	...	6,414,000
Bullocks and Heifers	...	3,454,000
Calves	...	1,038,000

Rams ...	...	...	...	337,000
Sheep	...	...	...	4,684,000
Ewes ...	...	...	...	9,145,000
Lambs	...	...	...	8,450,000
Pigs ...	...	...	...	5,881,000
Goats ...	...	...	...	1,483,000
Bees ...	...	...	...	1,731,000 hives.

The production of milk in 1885 was 160,600,000 gallons, at an average price of $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; that of wool, 474,000 quintals at 164 frs. 13 centimes (£6 11s. 3d.) ; that of honey, 7,500,000 kilogrammes, at 1 fr. 42 centimes ; and that of wax, 2,200,000 kilogrammes, at 2 frs. 28 centimes.

By way of counterbalancing the fall in prices, the duties on animals imported for food have also been raised of late—38 frs. on oxen, 20 frs. on cows, &c. But even before this increased duty the price of meat was high enough. In 1885 the average price was 1 fr. 67 centimes per kilogramme for the living beast, and 2 frs. 17 centimes at the butcher's in the city of Rouen.

MANUFACTURES.

As a whole, French manufacturing industry has quickly followed the advance of science in this century, and has undergone a transformation, perhaps not as speedy as that of some neighbouring countries, but none the less very rapid. To give an instance, in 1840, 2,591 steam engines, with a total force of 34,350 horse-power, were employed in manufactures.* In 1884 there were 50,252 engines, with a total of 683,090 horse-power, not including 9,246 locomotives with a force of 3,443,749 horse-power, and 1,879 steamship engines with 474,138 horse-power. In France it is estimated that one horse-power equals three draught-horses, or twenty-one men ; so that the 4 millions and a half of

* One horse-power in France is the force necessary to lift 75 kilogrammes a mètre per second.

horse-power would be equivalent to the labour of 100 million men.

This revolution, which has been simultaneous with the immense development of production and of traffic, has not, however, hindered wages from rising very considerably. Wages have in fact doubled, in some cases more than doubled, since the beginning of the century. At the present time (1883 and 1884) the average wages in the provinces are reckoned as follows :—

Mines	3 frs. 83 cts. per day.	
Manufacture on a great scale (spinning, weaving, glass - works, pottery, &c.) ...	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> { 5 frs. 44 cts. 3 frs. 55 cts. 1 fr. 80 cts. 1 fr. 20 cts. </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> „ foremen. workmen. women. children. </div>
Minor Manufacture	3 frs. 43 cts.	workmen.

At Paris these figures, which vary, moreover, with the calling and skill of the workman, are generally higher by two-fifths or more.

The artisan population differs very much in character from the agricultural population. It lacks the conservative spirit which springs from the ownership of land, and readily embraces revolutionary ideas and looks forward to the realisation of the utopias which its radical leaders put before it. The great manufacturing centres, such as Paris and Lyons, are hot-beds of political agitation. Most of the revolutions of this century have originated in the workmen's quarters of Paris ; and this applies even to those revolutions which have been under the guidance of the middle class, and which have ultimately been turned to its advantage. Living on his daily wages, and without any of those permanent ties to his factory which used to exist until the foundation of great manufacturing companies put an end to the "patron" of the old school and sundered the capitalist from the workman ; having no relations with

his employers except those of business, and suffering from the periodical stoppages of work caused by over-production or improvements in machinery—the artisan is as careless and enterprising as the peasant is cautious and conservative. Uncertain as to the future before him, he is also more prolific than the more provident peasant. Accustomed to great agglomerations of human beings, to a life of often feverish activity, and to constant intercourse with his fellows, he has an extraordinarily quick and open understanding. In Paris especially, real artists are often to be met with among the workmen. At the same time his independence of character and quickness of mind are a danger, alike to the political and economic interests of his class. For half a century the men of the artisan class have habitually mixed up economic and political questions, and have come to look upon the bourgeois capitalist as their natural enemy. Suffering like France itself from a deficient political education the workmen were for a long time without the necessary instruments of economic education. It was only in 1867 that strikes were legalised; the right to combine for the protection of their interests was not granted until 1884; and these new liberties have hardly begun to bear fruit in our day. Like all Frenchmen, the artisans for a long time looked to the State for the satisfaction of their needs and aspirations at a period when they were forbidden to act for themselves; now that they have the right and the means of so acting, the old spirit still occasionally prevails, and displays itself in a tendency towards State-Socialism. There are, however, indications from which the careful observer may infer that in this respect also the national character is undergoing a transformation, and that little by little the men will resign themselves to looking to the well-combined individual efforts of solidly-constituted associations for all that which the State-providence is incapable of giving.

Nearly every known industry is represented in France. A rapid survey will show the relative importance of each.

In 1884, 4,109 engines of 101,000 horse-power were employed in *coal mines*.

There were 253 coal and anthracite workings (Anzin, Valenciennes, Boulogne, St. Étienne and Rive de Gier, Alais, Le Creusot, St. Aubin, Décazeville, Commentry, &c.) and 54 of lignite. These 307 workings, which employed 110,000 men, were distributed over 42 departments, but chiefly in the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, and the basin of the Loire. The workings gave an annual output of 20 million tons* of coal at the average price of 12frs. 33c. (11frs. 73c. in 1885) at the pit-mouth, and of 21frs. 17c. at the place of consumption. This production hardly represents two-thirds of the French consumption. Of the remainder (10 to 12 million tons) half comes from Belgium, a third from England, and the rest from Germany.

France also possesses rich *iron deposits*, which unfortunately are, as a rule, at a great distance from the coal mines. In 1884, 77 mines produced 3 million tons, at the price of 4 frs. 31c., two-thirds of the quantity being furnished by the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle. France makes up her needful supply by importing one million and a half tons from Germany, Spain, Algeria, and Belgium.

In Lille, Fives, Maubeuge, Le Creusot, and St. Étienne, 112 foundries, with 168 blast-furnaces, turned out nearly two million tons of pig-iron at 73 frs. per ton; 202 works, with 849 puddling-furnaces and 127 refining-furnaces, turned out 877,000 tons of manufactured iron, 16,000 of which were rails; while 63 steel-works, with 38 Bessemer apparatus and 49 Martin furnaces, produced 502,000 tons of steel. In the same year France imported 149,000 tons of pig-iron, 96,000 of manufactured iron, and 17,000 of steel; while she

* The French ton = 10 quintals or 1,000 kilogrammes. The English ton = 1,015 kilogrammes.

exported 13,500, 41,000, and 3,000 respectively. Altogether, French metal works employed 7,020 machines of 149,000 horse-power.*

France also produced in 1884, 3,700 tons of copper, 6,400 of lead, 17,000 of zinc, obtained almost entirely from foreign ores.

Textile manufactures (6,455 machines of 139,000 horse-power) employ over a million workmen, and France is one of the great exporting countries for textile goods. The factories are chiefly situated in Roubaix, Tourcoing, Sedan, Reims, Rouen, Elbœuf, and Lyons. In 1883 there were 600 flax, hemp, and jute mills, with 670,000 spindles, 19,000 power-looms, and 25,000 hand-looms, the raw material coming chiefly from the East. Of the total number of factories, 380 were in the department of the Nord.

The cotton factories numbered 1,082, chiefly in the Nord, Normandy, and the Vosges (Rouen, St. Quentin, Lille, Tarare). They contained 5,000,000 spindles, 76,000 power-looms, and 37,500 hand-looms. Almost all the raw material came from America.

2,020 mills, situated in the same districts as the foregoing, and also in the departments of Ardèche and Tarn, were engaged in the woollen manufacture, with a total of 3,097,000 spindles and 445,000 power-looms.

Silk, the raw material of which France herself supplies in part, is chiefly manufactured in the districts of Lyons, Dauphiné, and the department of Ardèche. In 1882 there were 1,424 manufactories of raw silk, and 1,220 spinning or weaving works with 107,000 spindles, 42,000 power-looms, and 62,500 hand-looms.

* In 1885 the production of pig-iron fell to 1,630,000 tons, that of manufactured iron and steel to 1,336,000; the consumption of pig-iron exceeded the amount produced by 160,000 tons, while the amount of manufactured iron and steel produced were 65,000 tons in excess of the home consumption.

The following figures are taken from the returns of the foreign trade of France in 1885, and show the place occupied by textile manufactures in the general trade of the country :—

Yarns and pieces of—	Imports.	Exports.
Flax, Hemp, &c.	£ 480,000	£ 880,000
Cotton	4,200,000	4,160,000
Wool	3,920,000	14,440,000
Silk	1,640,000	8,880,000

It is impossible to give accurate figures with regard to other manufactures. The following figures only show the relative position held by some of them in 1884 :—

	Engines.	Horse-power.
Food-products	8,820	94,000
Chemical industries	3,120	34,000
Paper mills, furniture manufactories, etc.	3,530	31,000
Building	5,300	60,000

CARRIAGE.

A brief summary statement will suffice to give an idea of the means of communication which France can place at the disposition of her commerce :—

In 1885 there were in France 325,000 miles of carriage roads,* 20,312 miles of railway, 5,000 miles of navigable rivers, 3,125 miles of canals.

The *roads* are divided into three groups :—

1. National roads, which are paid for by the State

With 429 miles of tramways.

(23,750 miles), and which cost on an average £1,920 per mile to make, and about £43 2s. 6d. a year per mile to maintain.

2. Departmental roads, paid for by the departments (20,625 miles), the maintenance of which costs 15 to 20 million frs. annually (£600,000 to £800,000).

3. Parish roads (*chemins vicinaux*), paid for by the communes, the maintenance of which costs 100 million frs. (£4,000,000). Efforts are being made to bring the total length of these up to 375,500 miles.

Railways, the first of which was opened in 1832, have in most cases been made by private companies, but with help from the State, either in the form of a subsidy, or more generally in the form of a guaranteed interest on the capital invested. In return for these contributions the ownership of the lines is vested in the State and reverts to it after a certain period, generally fixed at ninety-nine years. Moreover, the sums advanced by the State to the companies to guarantee the interest on the invested capital are repayable by the latter, and if repayment be not made before the end of the concession, the State has the right to seize and hold the rolling-stock of the companies as a security for the amount of the debt. This system is at times very onerous for the State, for there are years in which this guarantee of interest costs the Budget over £2,400,000. The system was originated with a view to arousing and encouraging private initiative, which was somewhat slow to move. In order to accelerate the construction of new lines, the State, moreover, set to work on its own account in 1878. It possesses at the present moment a distinct system of lines, worked by its own agents. The financial results, however, of this last enterprise have been bad.

The railways have been made at an average cost of £27,072 per mile. The gross receipts, after rising to £44,200,000 in 1883, fell to £40,000,000 in 1886. The

net profit is about £20,000,000, or barely 4½ per cent. on the invested capital. In 1883 there were 207 million passengers by rail, and 89 million tons of goods. The rolling-stock included 8,535 locomotives, 19,000 passenger carriages, 228,000 other vehicles, and a staff of 241,000 employés.

Canals are State property, and since 1880 their navigation has been entirely free from tolls. The same applies to navigable rivers.*

TRADE.

Of the three great branches of national activity, agriculture is prevented, by the minute subdivision of landed property, from becoming as much of a manufacturing industry as it should be. Manufacturing industry, properly so called, thanks to the energy of those engaged in it, and thanks to some extent to measures of protection, has managed, without an excessive amount of difficulty, to undergo the transformation necessary to bring it up to the level of the scientific discoveries of the century. French trade has not in all cases shown itself capable of the spirit of enterprise required to open out new markets, and has failed to some extent in adapting its methods to the demands of consumers. Its representatives too often make the mistake of never risking anything, and of waiting for custom instead of provoking it. They possess rare qualities of commercial honesty and solidity, but they are not, as a rule, speculative enough for a period when business is transacted on a huge scale by telegraph. It must also be admitted that, till very recently, our commercial organisation was hardly better adapted to operations on a great scale than was our agricultural. Petty commerce and petty manufacture are still very common in France, and are unfavourable to

* The question of sea-transport is dealt with in Chapter VI., *ante*.

important enterprises. But we may remark that, while the subdivision of the land goes on, manufactures and trade, on the other hand, now show a marked tendency to form themselves into vast agglomerations. Little by little the small mills and small firms are being first undermined and then destroyed by the competition of large establishments which possess more powerful resources in capital, and which are enabled to diminish their general expenses by the multiplicity of their operations. Despite this tendency, however, more than 1,600,000 persons took out licences as manufacturers, merchants, or shopkeepers in 1885 ; in other words, manufacture and trade are still far from being concentrated in the hands of a few.

It is very difficult to give even an approximate statement of the total amount of the *home trade* of a country, as most of its operations escape the direct control of the Administration. On this point there is only vague and indirect information to be had. The official estimate is that—given the total sum brought in by the licence-tax, and the method of its imposition—the net profits of French merchants and manufacturers must amount to a total of about £100,000,000 a year. Every year land is sold to the amount of £120,000,000 ; personal property (State funds, shares and bonds of manufacturing companies, &c.) to the amount of £40,000,000. Seven thousand seven hundred bankruptcies were declared in 1884 ; and the official returns in the same year showed £3,200,000 of assets against £11,360,000 of liabilities.

In the case of *foreign trade*, on the contrary, precise data exist, owing to the fact that the Customs House values all goods which enter and leave the country. General trade includes everything which enters and leaves the country, whether it be in transit, in bond, or in temporary admission.* It is to be distinguished from Special trade,

* Goods are said to be in transit when they only pass through the

which embraces only French goods or goods imported for the French market. In the last sixty years the foreign trade of France has undergone the following variations :—

Date.	General Trade.		Special Trade.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
Annual Average,	£	£	£	£
From 1827 to 1836	26,680,000	27,920,000	19,400,000	20,840,000
„ 1837 „ 1846	43,520,000	40,960,000	31,040,000	28,520,000
„ 1847 „ 1856	60,120,000	66,880,000	43,080,000	48,960,000
„ 1857 „ 1866	119,480,000	131,720,000	88,000,000	97,200,000
„ 1867 „ 1876	170,480,000	168,080,000	136,320,000	132,280,000
In 1877... ..	182,800,000	174,840,000	146,800,000	137,440,000
„ 1878... ..	202,560,000	164,480,000	167,040,000	127,200,000
„ 1879... ..	223,160,000	170,800,000	182,800,000	129,240,000
„ 1880... ..	244,520,000	184,480,000	201,320,000	138,720,000
„ 1881... ..	239,840,000	188,960,000	194,520,000	142,440,000
„ 1882... ..	238,480,000	190,560,000	192,880,000	142,960,000
„ 1883... ..	235,480,000	182,480,000	192,160,000	138,080,000
„ 1884... ..	209,560,000	168,720,000	173,720,000	129,280,000
„ 1885... ..	197,200,000	158,240,000	163,520,000	123,520,000
„ 1886... ..	—	—	169,360,000*	132,000,000

It is necessary to point out before proceeding to analyse these figures that the *Customs system* of France has undergone extraordinary changes in the last sixty years. Till 1860 this system was strictly protectionist—in the case of certain imports almost prohibitive—and even went so far as to impose duties on a number of exports. Since 1860 France has made commercial treaties with several Powers

country; to be in bond when they are kept in a fixed place, and do not pay import duties until the moment when they are delivered to the consumer; and to be in temporary admission when they are received free of duty, in order to be worked up in France and re-exported afterwards.

* To this last figure should be added that of £4,080,000, representing the average value of the coined money and bullion imported annually.

—first with England, and with other countries afterwards. Without accepting Free Trade, she greatly lowered her import duties, and, side by side with a General Tariff, which was applicable to imports from those countries with which she had no treaty, a Conventional Tariff (*i.e.*, a tariff of *convention* or agreement) for other countries, of a much more moderate character, was sanctioned. As treaties of commerce multiplied, and in view of the fact that the stipulations of each treaty were immediately taken advantage of by all other treaty-powers in virtue of the most-favoured-nation clause, the Conventional Tariff became the general rule, and the General Tariff the exception. The economic crisis through which France has been passing since 1881 has restored the courage of the out-and-out protectionists, and they have made fierce onslaught on the Conventional Tariffs. In 1881 the General Tariff was re-constructed so as to protect most French manufactures by a duty of about 50 per cent. ; but some of the treaties have not yet expired, a few have been renewed, and it will not be till 1892 that France, no longer bound by international obligations, will be at liberty to arrange her Customs system as she chooses. That the new arrangement will be made on a protectionist basis is certain.

* We may now proceed to examine the statistics of French trade, taking the *special trade* first.

In 1885 the exports and imports of the principal commodities were as follows :—

	Exports.	Imports.
	£	£
Food products	30,000,000	58,000,000
Raw materials	28,000,000	80,920,000
Manufactures	65,000,000	24,400,000

From these figures it will be seen that France is an importing country as regards her food and raw material, and an exporting one as regards her manufactures.

Taking those goods only into consideration which figure in the returns of foreign trade for over £2,000,000, we get the following results :—

Goods.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.
Wines	15,560,000	10,240,000
Wool	11,040,000	3,640,000
Cereals	9,320,000	—
Silk and Floss Silk	8,440,000	4,840,000
Skins and Furs	7,520,000	2,560,000
Oleaginous Grains	7,380,000	—
Cotton	7,160,000	—
Timber	6,360,000	—
Coal	5,840,000	—
Fruit	5,480,000	—
Cattle	5,320,000	—
Sugar (Foreign and Colonial)	4,400,000	—
Coffee	3,200,000	—
Woollen Fabrics	3,000,000	13,200,000
Linens	2,720,000	—
Cotton Fabrics	2,680,000	4,080,000
Silk Fabrics	—	8,880,000
Fancy Goods, Toys, &c.	—	4,720,000
Articles of Skin and Leather	—	5,360,000
Prepared Skins	—	4,160,000
Cheese and Butter	—	4,000,000
Brandies and Liqueurs	—	3,040,000
Ready-made Clothes (Underclothing, &c.)	—	2,800,000
Metal Goods	—	2,360,000
Chemical Products	—	2,080,000

The following table shows the principal countries with which the above trade is conducted :—

Countries.	Imports into France.	Exports from France.
England	25,480,000	33,200,000
Belgium	16,160,000	17,480,000
Germany	14,960,000	12,000,000
Spain	14,440,000	6,480,000
United States	10,880,000	10,160,000
Italy	10,520,000	7,080,000
British India	7,880,000	—
Argentine Republic	7,880,000	3,840,000
Russia	6,520,000	—
Turkey	5,320,000	—
Algeria	4,960,000	6,720,000
Switzerland	4,640,000	7,520,000
Austria-Hungary	4,400,000	—

It will be seen, then, that France is mainly an exporting country as regards England, Belgium, Switzerland, and Algeria, and mainly an importing country as regards the other States.

If we now pass from Special Trade to General Trade, we shall see that in 1885 there were about £20,000,000 worth of goods in *bond* in France, chiefly at Marseilles, Havre, Bordeaux, Paris, and Nantes. Goods to the value of about £1,680,000—corn, woollen goods, palm-oil, silk fabrics, pig-iron, &c.—were in *temporary admission*, and were re-exported in the form of flour, machines, woollen goods (printed or dyed), &c., to the value of £3,760,000. As to goods in *transit*, 220,700 tons (principally cereals, coal, pig-iron, &c.) were carried through France to Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Italy, &c.

Finally, as regards the methods of carriage employed in foreign trade in 1885

12 million tons of } £132,720,000 { were imported by
goods, at a value of } sea.

4 million tons of	}	£106,680,000	{	4 million tons of	{	4 million tons of	{	were exported by
goods, at a value of				goods, at a value of		sea.		
10 million tons of	}	£64,480,000	{	10 million tons of	{	10 million tons of	{	were imported by
goods, at a value of				goods, at a value of		land.		
2 million tons of	}	£51,520,000	{	2 million tons of	{	2 million tons of	{	were exported by
goods, at a value of				goods, at a value of		land.		

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

The statistics of postal and telegraphic communication furnish a valuable index to the economic activity of a country. The operations of the Post Office have greatly increased of late years, whether under the influence of the lowering of home rates, or from the extension of the International Postal Union. The present rates are—for letters all over France, Algeria, and Tunis, 15c. ; a telegram in France costs 5c. per word, with a minimum of 50c. per telegram.

Posts and telegraphs are a State monopoly.

In 1885, 1,526 million articles were sent by post, 1,334 millions of them to places within the country. The latter total included 524 million letters, 33 million post-cards, 359 million newspapers, &c.* In 1884, 18½ million post-office orders were issued, to the value of £23,040,000; and bills of exchange collected to the amount of £5,040,000. On January 1st, 1887, there were 6,819 post-offices in France, or 1 per 5,600 inhabitants.

The telegraphs form a network of nearly 62,500 miles, and there are 8,777 telegraph offices open to the public. Twenty-seven million telegrams were sent off in 1885, 2,300,000 for abroad; the number received from abroad was 3 millions. The circulation of telegrams is particularly

* The mails are carried free of charge by the railways, in accordance with agreements made with the Government at the time of their authorisation.

large in Paris, where, in addition to the ordinary electric communication, there is a pneumatic system, by which messages written in the sender's own hand are conveyed.

COINAGE.

The extreme simplicity of the French *metrical system* is well known. The *mètre*, which represents the ten-millionth part of the quarter of the terrestrial meridian, is the fundamental unit of the weights and measures which have been in use since the Revolution. All its multiples and subdivisions are decimals, a fact which singularly facilitates calculation. It is naturally the unit of measures of length; that used for measures of superficies—the *are*—is a square of ten *mètres* every way; that for measures of capacity for liquids—the *litre*—is a cubic *decimètre*; that for solid measures—the *stère*—is a cubic *mètre*; that for weights—the *gramme*—is the weight of a cubic centimètre of water at the temperature of four degrees centigrade. The *monetary unit*, finally—the *franc*—represents five grammes of silver at the standard of nine-tenths—that is to say, containing nine parts of silver to one part of alloy.

France is under the bi-metallic system—that is to say, everybody is compelled to receive payments in silver as well as in gold. The law has, consequently, had to establish a legal relation between the two metals—the value of gold being fixed at $15\frac{1}{2}$ times that of silver. There are gold coins of 100 francs, 50 francs, 20 francs, 10 francs, and 5 francs; silver coins of 5 francs, 2 francs, 1 franc, 50 centimes, and 20 centimes. But of the latter, the 5-franc piece alone is of the legal standard of nine-tenths. Since 1864 the other silver coins are of the standard of $\frac{835}{1000}$, so that they have fallen to the rank of token money. Payment by means of them cannot be enforced beyond a very small sum; and the same with the bronze coins of 10, 5, 2, and 1

centimes. Since 1865, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and (later) Greece have had a Monetary Union. The gold and silver pieces of all these countries, being coined on a uniform system, circulate in all the countries of the Union.

Coinage is a State monopoly, and is carried on at the Paris Mint exclusively. In principle, every person possessing gold or silver ore has the right to have it coined, on payment of a trifling seignorage. But this right does not extend either to the silver coins at $\frac{8.33}{1000}$, or to the bronze coins, which have only a nominal value; and it has been suspended since 1876, even in the case of silver five-franc pieces, owing to the fall in the value of silver, and to avoid speculation.

The value of money coined in France since 1795, with a deduction made for the coins called in, amounts to £347,000,000 in gold, £20,244,000 in silver five-franc pieces, and £8,680,000 in smaller denominations of silver coins. The existing circulation, including foreign money, was calculated in 1885 at about £200,000,000 in gold and £120,000,000 in silver; of this total, £88,000,000, half in gold, composed the metallic reserve in the Bank of France at that time.

BANKING.

Side by side with the monetary circulation, which forms part of the elementary mechanism of exchange, is credit, which in most civilised countries has taken the place of actual coin in most mercantile operations. Banking is free in France, and that being so, it is impossible to give the exact figures of its operations. Not even an approximate idea of its importance can be obtained from the sum-total of the operations of the Clearing House, founded in Paris in 1872 in imitation of that in London. This establishment has, in fact, effected in the fifteen years of its existence not more than an average of. £128,000,000 of balances and

transfers in the year. This, however, is largely owing to the fact that the use of cheques is far less general in France than it is in England. It is extremely rare for a private individual to have a running account at a bank; as a rule, he prefers to keep the needful amount for his wants by him, and to pay his tradesmen directly by cash or bank-notes, while in ordinary commercial operations, almost all accounts are settled by means of bills of exchange at one, two, or three months.

Among the great banking establishments, the *Bank of France* has a claim on our attention, because it is a State institution, because it has the monopoly of issuing bank-notes for the whole of Continental France till 1897,* and because it possesses an altogether different organisation from that of the Bank of England.

The Bank of France was founded as a State bank in 1806. It has a joint-stock capital amounting at the present day to £7,300,000, in £40 shares.† It is the depository of a large part of the funds of the public Treasury, and is compelled to make a permanent advance of £5,600,000 from its own resources to the State. Its principal establishment is at Paris, but it has one or more branches in each department. It has the right of issuing bank-notes to the amount of £140,000,000, and actually issues about £114,000,000. These notes must be paid by the Bank of France whenever presented, either in gold or in silver. Inconvertibility, or the right of the Bank to refuse to pay them in cash, has been given them only twice by law—in the periods from 1848 to 1850, and from 1870 to 1877—during two terrible economic crises.

The value of *bank-notes* in circulation is partly covered by the metallic reserve, which was nearly £96,000,000 at

* Algeria and the colonies have banks of their own.

† The bank shares are now worth about £140; the dividend paid in 1886 was £6 8s.

the end of 1886 (rather more than half of it in gold), and by the bills which the Bank is empowered to discount under certain conditions of time and guarantee. The total amount represented by bills discounted in 1884 and 1885 was about £400,000,000. To protect its metallic reserve against excessive demands by holders of bills, the Bank, if necessary, raises its rate. This rate (which in great crises has risen to 6, 7, 8, and 10 per cent.) had fallen before the war of 1870 as low as $2\frac{1}{2}$; since 1883 it has stood uniformly at 3 per cent.*

Side by side with the great establishments which are mainly used by large capitalists, France possesses certain institutions intended either to receive small savings, or to facilitate loans on pledges to those whose misfortunes compel them to have recourse to such expedients.

The first *Savings' Bank* was founded at Paris in 1818, and the institution has greatly extended since. There were 543 such banks at the end of 1883. As a rule these banks are private establishments; but they pay the sums entrusted to them into the Treasury of Deposits and Consignments (*Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations*), which is a State establishment, and the State, which is responsible for these moneys to the banks, pays them an annual interest at the rate of 4 per cent. The interest paid by the banks themselves to their depositors is always somewhat less, as their administrative expenses have to be deducted. In 1881 a Postal Savings' Bank was founded. In this case the State receives

* The governor of the Bank is appointed by the Government, as also is the governor of the Land Bank (*Crédit Foncier de France*). This latter institution, which is a joint-stock company founded in 1852, makes advances on mortgage to landed proprietors to the amount of half the value of the property. These advances are made at a maximum interest of 5.41 per cent., a sum which includes a sinking-fund spread over seventy-five years. The *Crédit Foncier* also makes advances to departments and communes, and obtains the necessary resources by the issue of shares which, besides the annual interest payable on them, they give a right to the chances of periodical lotteries.

the money through the postmasters, and is directly responsible to the depositors. The Postal Bank receives interest at the rate of 3frs. 25c. per cent. from the State, and pays 3 per cent. Both in the private and in the public savings' banks, a depositor can lodge as much as £80; beyond that sum any moneys paid in by him are applied in the purchase of State funds. At the end of 1885 the private savings' banks had thus £89,600,000 to their credit, which had been paid in to the State. The liabilities of the Postal Savings' Bank amounted in 1886 to £7,400,000. These figures clearly show a dangerous drain of capital, and the State is too often inclined to abuse the resources thus put at its disposal. A proposal has accordingly been lately made to reduce the rate of interest in such a way as to diminish the attractions offered to small savings by the State; but all that has been decided has been to impose a limit on the total sum which the savings' banks may pay into the Treasury's running account.

The *pawnshops* (*monts de piété*) make advances on personal property deposited with them. In 1883 they were only forty-two in number, and had lent £2,520,000 on 3,300,000 articles pawned. The interest payable on loans varied according to the locality from 3'20 to 12'25 per cent.

PUBLIC WEALTH.

After these data it will be well to give some idea of the total wealth of France; but here, again, only approximate estimates are possible. All that can be said is that the most trustworthy economists estimate the annual income of the French people at about £1,000,000,000, and put down three-fifths of that as the product of wages and personal labour. But the subdivision of landed property extends to personal property as well. M. Leroy-Beaulieu has published a table of Parisian incomes, which supplies

some curious information as to the distribution of wealth in the richest town in France.

Number of Incomes.	Total Income.	Proportion per 1,000.
421	£10,640 and more.	0·65
1,413	£10,640 to £5,320	2·35
3,049	£5,320 to £2,800	5
9,985	£2,800 to £1,280	15
21,453	£1,280 to £480	31
6,198	£480 to £400	9
17,202	£400 to £300	25
21,147	£300 to £240	31
161,083	£240 to £160	89
74,360	£160 to £96	108
418,641	Below £96	684
684,952		1,000

The capitalised value of the private fortunes of Frenchmen is put by M. Foville, who has made the succession and donation duties the basis of his calculation, at £3,200,000,000 in agricultural land (*propriétés non bâties*), £1,600,000,000 in buildings, £1,200,000,000 in State funds, £2,000,000,000 in other securities, or a grand total of £8,000,000,000.

France, therefore, would be a very wealthy country if the financial burdens she has to meet did not annually deprive her of nearly 15 per cent. of her income.

PUBLIC FINANCES.

The State, the departments, and the communes have each their budgets, which, in consequence of the financial system adopted in France, often encroach upon one another. Certain charitable institutions, chambers of commerce, &c., have also budgets ; and some of them, with the authorisation

of the law, collect payments which practically amount to taxes. The total annual revenue of the State, the departments, and the communes may be estimated at a total of about £160,000,000. Of this sum, more than half, or about £90,000,000, proceeds from taxes properly so called, and the rest from domain lands, or from various remunerative services undertaken by the State. This means that the French taxpayer is heavily burdened. The average taxation per head amounts to about 86 francs (£3 8s. 9½d.), of which about 69 francs (£2 15s. 2½d.) goes to the State. But before giving the details of the Budget we must first show from what sources the revenue is drawn.

The REVENUES of the STATE are (a) fiscal, (b) domainal and (c) mixed. The first comprise the taxes direct and indirect; the second are the profits arising from land in the possession of the nation, or from remunerative work done by the State; the third are more or less connected with both the two first categories, as, for instance, the income derived by the State from the tobacco monopoly. Altogether, the State raises a revenue from these different resources of £115,960,000 (estimates of 1887), classified as follows :—

Direct taxation	...	...	£17,600,000, <i>i.e.</i> , 15 per cent.
Indirect taxation	...	...	£72,120,000 „ 62 „
Monopolies and remunerative services	...	...	£23,200,000 „ 20 „
National land, &c.	...	...	£1,900,000 „ 1'75 „
Miscellaneous*	...	...	£1,140,000 „ 1'25 „

All *direct taxes* have this common feature, that they are assessed by the Administration directly on persons or properties, and are levied by means of assessment-lists made out in the payers' names. Indirect taxes, on the other

* In 1887 there were still £2,320,000 of exceptional sources of revenue and *recettes d'ordre*, these last including taxes collected by State agents on behalf of a few special treasuries (*caisses*).

hand, are levied on the occasion of a fact which is accomplished, and at the moment when it is accomplished, *e.g.*, the importation of an article or the sale of a landed property.

There are four great direct taxes—the land tax, the “*personnelle-mobilière*” tax, the door and window tax, and the licence-tax. The proceeds of each are divided into two parts: the principal, which is collected for the profit of the State; and the additional centimes, which go to the local budgets, and which sometimes exceed the principal. In this way, while direct taxation forms but a slight portion of the State revenue, it is, on the contrary, the principal resource of the local budgets. The following table shows what these taxes produced in 1887:—

Tax.	Share of the State (Principal)	Share of the Local Budgets (Additional Centimes).	Total.
Land Tax	£ 7,400,000	£ 7,880,000	£ 15,080,000
“ <i>Personnelle-mobilière</i> ” Tax	2,840,000	2,640,000	5,480,000
Door and Window Tax ...	1,880,000	1,280,000	3,160,000
Licence Tax	4,200,000	2,760,000	6,960,000
Total	£16,120,000*	£14,360,000	£30,680,000

The *licence tax* (*impôt des patentes*) is an assessed tax (*impôt de quotité*), *i.e.*, its rate is fixed by law, without reference to its total return. The three other direct taxes, on the contrary, are adjustable (*impôts de répartition*), that is to say, every year the law fixes the total which the tax in question must bring in, and distributes this sum among the departments. In each department the Council-General then

* Other taxes analogous to direct taxes make up the total revenue of the State from direct taxation to £17,600,000. These comprise taxes on property in mortmain, mines, billiard-rooms, horses and carriages, clubs, weights and measures. The communes also levy a municipal dog-tax in the same form.

distributes the departmental quota over the arrondissements. The council of the arrondissement does the same for the communes. In each commune a committee fixes the precise amount to which each individual is liable. By means of additional centimes, which are imposed over and above the principal of the tax, a contingency fund is secured to cover the loss on amounts which cannot be collected, so that the State is never disappointed as to the return of the tax, and always receives the full sum due from each commune, even when one or more taxpayers have obtained the remission of the whole or a portion of their tax. The quotas which are adopted for the principal are also applied to the collection of the additional centimes.

The *land tax* is assessed on the net income of lands built on or not built on, and the revenue is calculated upon certain recognised rules. It varies very much in different parts of France. It is true that in the first fifty years of the century a land-register (*cadastre*), or detailed description of the area of each separate property and its cultivation, was made; but this register was made by the commune, and only applies to the distribution among the inhabitants of the commune. There is no common basis of valuation for the distribution of the tax among circumscriptions containing many communes. Moreover, within one and the same commune, the uses to which different plots of land are applied have changed, and the register, which was very long and expensive to make, has not been kept up to date. The result is that the rate of the tax relatively to real income varies in different departments from less than three to over six per cent. for land built upon, and from two and a half to over seven per cent. for land not built upon.

The "*personnelle-mobilière*" tax comprises:—1. A capitation tax (*taxe personnelle*), which the Council-General fixes at a sum between 1fr. 50c. and 4frs. 50c. (these figures being

supposed to represent the value of three days' work) for each department, and which is due from every person not a pauper. 2. A contribution proportional to the real or supposed house-room occupied (*taxe mobilière*).

The *door and window tax*, as its name indicates, is assessed on openings in houses. Its distribution is made according to a legal rate on the basis of the openings in each house and the total population of each commune.

The *licence tax* is paid by traders, manufacturers, &c. It is assessed, not on the actual value of business done, but on certain arbitrary legal calculations based on the nature of the occupation, the value of the premises occupied, the number of persons employed, the population of the commune, &c. By way of exception, the communes levy eight centimes on the principal of this tax.

The infinite multiplicity of the various indirect taxes renders a complete enumeration of them in the space at our disposal out of the question. We shall, therefore, only mention the principal ones, which are as follows :—

A tax of three per cent. on *income from securities* other than State funds and foreign securities.

Registration duties, payable on certain documents, such as judgments of a court of law, sales of real property, mortgages, inheritances, &c., all of which must by law be made matters of public record.

Stamp duties, imposed on the paper on which wills, bills of exchange, &c., are drawn.

Customs duties, some information about which has already been given on page 237.

Sugar duties—i.e., duties on foreign, colonial, or native sugar—cane or beet-root—amounting to £2 per quintal (100 kilogrammes).

Excise duties, the assessment of which is very complicated, and which vary according to the importance of the

locality; the minimum amount of duty per hectolitre (22 gallons) of pure alcohol, at 90 degrees, is £6 5s.; the maximum per hectolitre of wine is 6s. 7d.

To these may be added the duties on vinegar, oil, candles, goods carried by railway or public vehicles, liquor-dealers' licences, &c., which form together with the excise duties the group of indirect taxes properly so called.

The collection of these different duties is made in a great number of different ways. Some of them are collected on the basis of a statement furnished by the taxpayer, others on a valuation made by the officers of the law as the result of an actual inspection of the taxpayer's property; and lastly, some are assessed and collected by inspectors during the processes of manufacture. In this last case the works are said to be "*soumis à l'exercice*."

The proceeds of indirect taxation are considerable. In 1887 they were estimated at the following sums for France and Algeria:—

Tax of 3 per cent. on Income from Securities	£1,840,000
Registration	£20,960,000
Stamps	£6,360,000
Customs (not including Sugar)	£13,200,000
Sugar (Home and Imported)	£6,720,000
• Indirect Taxation, including:—	
Excise and Licences	£17,200,000
Other Taxes	£5,840,000
	} ... £23,040,000
Total	£72,120,000

All these sums are paid into the public Treasury. But, over and above the indirect taxes levied on behalf of the State, there are other taxes of the same kind, the proceeds of which belong to particular communes. Such are the octroi duties, levied at the entrance into 1,525 towns, in 1886, on certain articles of consumption, such as articles of food and drink, fuel, fodder, and building materials. In 1885 the various octrois gave the communes concerned

£11,040,000, £5,400,000 of which was for the single city of Paris, or more than half the total ordinary receipts of that city.

In addition to regular taxation, the State raises considerable sums by the working of certain industries, some of which are monopolies, while others, on the contrary, are subject to the competition of private individuals.

The *State monopolies* are four in number: tobacco, gunpowder, matches, posts and telegraphs. Of these the first is the most important; it brings in to the State a net income of about £12,000,000 a year.

The cultivation of home-grown tobacco is under rigid supervision, and the crop can only be sold to the State or exported. The State also buys large quantities of unmanufactured foreign tobacco. It has 19 tobacco factories, situated in the principal towns of France, and distributes the manufactured article to the consumer through the agency of about 45,000 dealers, who are appointed by the Administration and receive a commission on the amount they sell—prices being fixed by the Administration. France consumes annually about 35,430 tons of tobacco and cigars.

Gunpowder is made in powder-mills under the control of the Ministry of War. The manufacture of dynamite and nitro-glycerine is left to private enterprise, but the two explosives are subject to a tax of 2 francs (1s. 7½d.) and 4 francs (3s. 3d.) per kilogramme (2½lbs.) respectively. The factories where they are made, like all dangerous or unhealthy manufactures, are subject to certain precautionary rules.

The monopoly of matches was bestowed upon a private company in 1872 in consideration of an annual royalty, varying from £640,000 to £680,000. Unlike the other monopolies, it has resulted in the supply of a very bad quality of article to the public.

The revenue from the postal and telegraphic services has diminished since the offices were multiplied and the service perfected.

The gross proceeds of the various State monopolies in 1886 were £15,960,000 for tobacco, powder, and matches, and £6,760,000 for posts and telegraphs—£22,720,000 in all.

Several other industries are carried on by the State, but are not monopolies. There is a National Printing Office (*Imprimerie Nationale*), a system of State railways, and national manufactures of porcelain and tapestry. There is little or no net profit on these undertakings. The profits on working of the State railways are £160,000 or thereabouts, without taking account of the interest on the capital spent in their construction.

The State further possesses a considerable *forest domain*, the capital value of which is estimated at about £50,000,000. The gross revenue of these woods and forests was put at £1,080,000 for 1887, the net revenue at £440,000 only, or less than 1 per cent. The State, finally, derives something from the sale of old material belonging to the various administrations.

The communes, also, frequently possess land—under forest for the most part—which brings them in an income of more than £4,000,000.

Proceeding now from the examination of the ordinary receipts and revenues of the State to that of its EXPENDITURE, we shall see in the following table the amount of the ordinary expenditure based on the estimate of 1887:—

I.	Public Debt	...	...	...	...	£51,454,893
II.	Public Powers (<i>Dotations des Pouvoirs Publics</i>)					529,154
III.	Different Ministries:—					
	Finance	...	...	...	£644,594	
	Justice	...	...	...	1,492,160	
	Carried forward	...			£2,136,754	£51,984,047

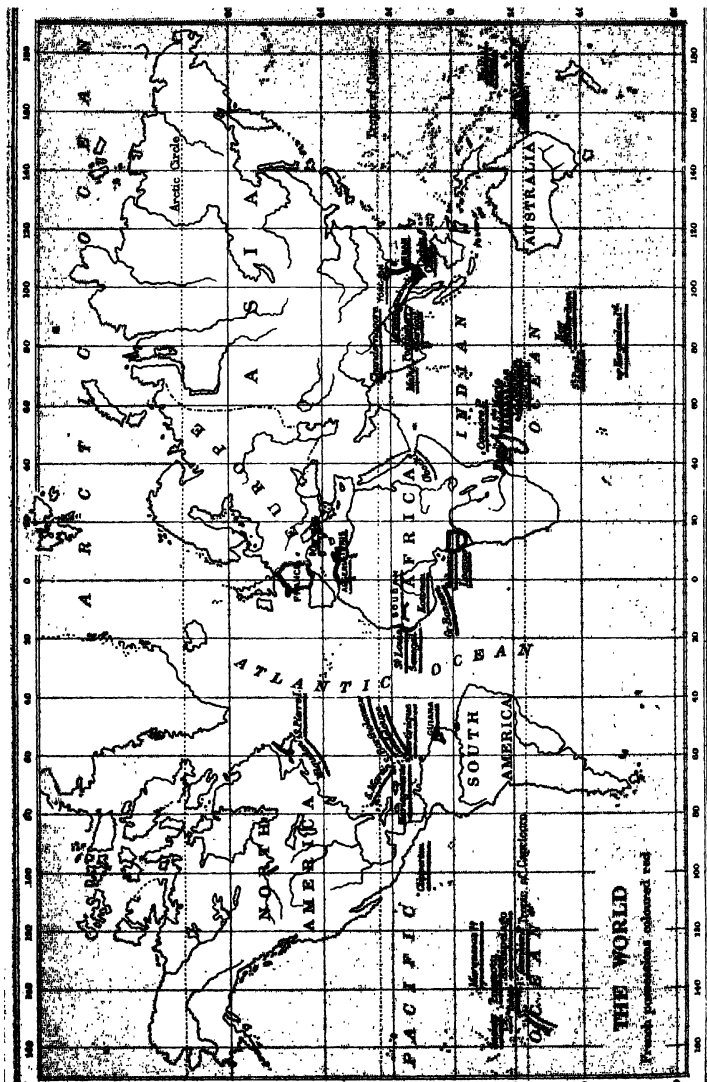
Brought forward ..	2,136,754	51,284,047
Foreign Affairs... ..	547,144	
Ditto (protectorates of Annam, Tunis, and Madagascar)...	1,222,452	
Interior	1,516,660	
Ditto (Algeria)	299,833	
Ditto (Public Worship) ...	1,825,823	
Posts and Telegraphs ...	79,283	
War	22,37,380	
Navy	7,543,113	
Ditto (Colonies)	1,644,962	
Public Education	5,304,297	
Ditto (Fine Arts)	507,440	
Trade and Manufactures ...	809,201	
Agriculture	937,939	
Public Works	4,846,250	
		52,258,931
IV. Expenses of administration (<i>régie</i>), collection and working (<i>exploitation</i>) of taxes and public revenues		13,267,007
V. Reimbursements, restitutions, deficiencies, and bounties		801,574
Total	£118,295,559	

Thus two-thirds of the French Budget are absorbed by the service of the Public Debt, and by War and the Navy. Of the rest, a third is set apart for the expenses of collection. £22,480,000 only are devoted to the various public services. These figures demand, moreover, some explanation.

The *Public Debt*, the arrears of which absorb nearly £52,000,000 yearly, has risen in France to proportions unknown in other civilised countries. The Consolidated Debt alone absorbs £35,280,000 of the Annual Budget. It comprises two stocks bearing interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent respectively, and a 3 per cent. stock redeemable in 75 years. The nominal capital exceeds £1,000,000,000. A summary of its progress during the course of the present century will show the share of

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2



responsibility which each of our systems of government has had in the increase of this enormous burden :—

Dates.	Nominal Capital of the Consolidated Debt.	Increase under each Government.
23rd Sept., 1800	£28,544,000	—
1st Jan., 1815 ...	£50,884,000	First Empire + £22,340,000
1st Aug., 1830 ...	£177,052,000	Restoration + £126,168,000
24th Feb., 1848 ...	£236,516,000	Monarchy of July + £60,708,000
1st Jan., 1852 ...	£220,648,000	Second Republic — £17,028,000
1st Jan., 1871 ...	£498,172,000	Second Empire + £277,524,000
1st Jan., 1887 ...	£1,033,794,000	Third Republic + £535,768,000*

By the side of the Consolidated Debt,† there is the Floating Debt (which amounted to £37,480,000 in 1887), the 6-year or 30-year bonds (£21,240,000, and £6,480,000 in 1887), various terminal yearly payments (*annuités*) for railways, &c., which took about £8,000,000 for interest and sinking fund in 1887, and the civil and military pensions (life-debt—“*dette viagère*”), which require £8,360,000.

The payments to officers of State, such as the President of the Republic, Senate, Chamber of Deputies, including the grants for carrying on the various Ministries, the general expenses of the Administration, and the expenses of tax collection, require no special notice. The sums devoted to these purposes have considerably increased of late, with the growth of public needs and the unfortunate tendency of the State to extend its functions. As to the fourth item of ordinary expenditure—reimbursements, restitutions, deficiencies, and

* This last figure includes the loans necessitated by the terrible war of 1870-71 with Germany. The costs of that war rose to £440,000,000 or £480,000,000—£200,000,000 of which was the indemnity paid to Germany. It has, moreover, been necessary to provide for the re-constitution of military and naval *matériel* since that period.

† The departments and the communes have also contracted loans, the nominal capital of which reaches £160,000,000.

bounties—their name alone indicates their purpose ; restitution is made of sums unduly exacted by fiscal agents, and bounties are given either for the export of certain goods, or for the detection of certain offences against the revenue which are punishable by fine.

In addition to the *Ordinary Budget*, of which the chief figures have just been given, there are three other budgets :—

The *Extraordinary Budget*, from which extraordinary or accidental expenses are met, deals with the proceeds of Government loans ; for instance, the re-constitution of war *matériel*, the construction of railways, harbours, canals, &c. It reached £6,840,000 in 1887, £3,440,000 of which were appropriated to military purposes, £1,200,000 to the navy, and £2,200,000 to public works.

The *Special Budget* (*Budget sur ressources spéciales*) comprises the sums collected by the State on behalf of the departments, communes, &c. (additional centimes), and which it immediately pays out again to the latter. This budget amounted to £18,680,000* in 1887.

The *Subsidiary Budgets* (*budgets annexes*), attached by order to the general Budget of the State. These are the budgets of certain institutions which have a financial existence distinct from that of the State, either possessing resources of their own, or receiving national subsidies over which the State confines itself to exercising general control

* The departments and the communes possessing other resources besides the additional centimes, this figure does not give a complete idea of the total importance of the local budgets. The only information to be had on this point is very incomplete, but such as it is we must confine ourselves to reproducing it here. The sum-total of the expenditure of the departments was £12,560,000 in 1881 ; that of the communes, £27,080,000 in 1877 ; and it is certain that these sums have risen considerably since then. At Paris the ordinary Budget in 1887 was £10,280,000, or £4.8s. per inhabitant ; of this sum £4,000,000 was set apart for the municipal debt, which amounts to £80,000,000 of share capital.

without undertaking their administration. Such are the National Printing Office (*Imprimerie Nationale*), the Legion of Honour, etc., whose budgets amounted in 1887 to £3,160,000.

Such are, from the financial point of view, the points most indispensable for the understanding of the French Budget. It now only remains to explain in a few words how this Budget is produced, and the manner in which it is administered and controlled.

The French *financial year* is from January 1 to December 31. Every year Parliament votes a Budget in a single law, and not as in England by successive instalments. This Budget authorises for the year the collection of the taxes imposed by law, and opens credits within the limits of the recognised requirements and anticipated resources of the State. The Budget is preliminary, *i.e.*, it is voted before the beginning of the financial year. If the vote be delayed for any reason Parliament votes the Government one or more *provisional twelfths*; without this precaution no tax could be collected, nor any expenditure undertaken. If during the time that the Budget is being carried out (*période d'exécution*) it is found that its provisions have been inadequate, Parliament grants supplementary or extraordinary credits.

This budgetary period (*période d'exécution*) is longer than the financial year, and is called the *working year* (*l'exercice*). If we take, for instance, the year 1886, the services done and the duties charged from January 1 to December 31, 1886, are alone considered as belonging to the working year of 1886. But the supplies (*services*) of *matériel* which could not be finished by December 31 may be continued up to February 1, 1887; duties due by taxpayers may be collected up to June 30; while sums due to creditors of the State may be liquidated and orders to pay given for them up to July 31, the actual payments

themselves up to August 31, 1887. On the last named date only the working year of 1886 is closed. In other words, instead of making a single account of all the payments or supplies effected in the course of a year, the Treasury opens a special account of its own for each working year, as a banker might do for a client, and charges to this account all the operations which are peculiarly its own.

The *Budget Bill* is prepared by the Minister of Finance, and laid, in the first place, on the table of the Chamber of Deputies with a voluminous printed explanatory statement (*exposé des motifs*). It comprises the estimates both of expenditure and of revenue. It is referred by the Chamber to the examination of a committee appointed by the Chamber; and after this committee has made its report the Budget comes up for discussion at a general sitting of the house.

The first vote taken authorises the expenditure for the year; the second settles the amount and incidence of the revenue to be collected. The expenditure is voted by chapters, *i.e.*, the expenditure of each Ministry is divided into a certain number of sections, each of which is set apart for a particular category of expenditure, and in the case of each category Ministers cannot exceed the amount of the sum allotted to the corresponding chapter. In providing the revenue, the return of the taxes is estimated *en bloc*, but it need hardly be said that the estimate contained in the financial law does not limit the actual amount allotted; in other words, if a particular tax returns more than had been anticipated, the Administration pockets the surplus. The estimate of receipts is based as a general rule on the results of the previous year but one; thus for 1887 the return of the taxes was estimated in accordance with the results obtained in 1885.

As soon as it is voted by the Chamber, the Budget is

sent up to the Senate, where it is discussed and adopted with the same forms.*

The budgetary period (*période d'exécution*) then begins. The fundamental principle of public accounts in France is, that no man can be at once paymaster (*ordonnateur*) and cashier (*comptable*). The paymaster prescribes a payment and hands over an order payable by the cashier, while the latter actually encashes receipts and makes payments. In each ministerial department the paymaster is the Minister, who has power to delegate his right. The cashiers, on the other hand, are for the most part agents of the Ministry of Finance.

The operations connected with the carrying out of a Budget are subject to a double *control*—judicial and legislative.

Judicial control is exercised by the *Court of Accounts* sitting at Paris, and composed of magistrates who are irremovable. This court has jurisdiction over the cashiers only, all whose books are submitted to it, and whose accounts with the Treasury, with its creditors, or its debtors, it audits and to whom it gives a discharge. It moreover certifies as to the correspondence between the accounts of the Minister-paymasters and those of the cashiers, and issues a general statement giving the definitive results of each working year.

After these declarations have been made, the Minister prepares and submits to Parliament the bill of *Final Settlement* (*Règlement Définitif*) of the working year. This is done with the same forms as the Budget, but instead of provisions for the future, the Settlement only deals with accomplished facts. The public thus learns whether the Budget has shown a final surplus or a final deficit. If there be a deficit the amount is charged to the Floating

* The right of the Senate to increase credits voted by the Chamber has often been contested, but in point of fact the right has been often exercised.

Debt till consolidated ; if there be a surplus it is credited to one of the budgets of ensuing years.

Local budgets follow rules analogous to those of the Budget of the State.* The departmental budget is prepared by the prefect, voted by the Council-General, and approved by decree of the Head of the State. Payments are made by the prefect ; his administrative accounts, after having been discussed by the Council-General, are passed by decree. The communal budget is prepared by the mayor (who is also paymaster), voted by the municipal council, and approved, according to its importance, either by the prefect or the Head of the State. The mayor's accounts are discussed by the municipal council and passed by the prefect. The judicial control is the same for these departmental and communal budgets as for the Budget of the State.

* It is nevertheless to be observed that certain expenditure is compulsory on the departments and communes, and can if necessary be imposed upon them *ex officio*.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONIAL FRANCE.

CONTENTS :—Historical survey of the Formation of the French Colonial Empire.—Algeria ; Tunis ; Senegal and Upper Niger ; French Coast of Guinea ; Gaboon and French Congo ; Madagascar and islands of the Indian Ocean ; Obock ; India and Indo-China ; New Caledonia and French Polynesia ; Newfoundland Banks ; French Antilles and Guiana.—Comparative tables of the French Colonies.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

THE colonial domain of France, or Greater France (as the English say "Greater Britain"), is of recent date. When in 1830 our fleet sailed from Toulon towards the coasts of Algiers and landed French troops at Sidi-Ferruch Point (June 14), France retained but a fragment of her old colonial empire. Bourbon and Sainte Marie in the Indian Ocean, with claims over Madagascar ; and two islands in the Antilles—Martinique and Guadeloupe—were all that remained to her. Close to the coast of the Canada which she had lost she still held the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Of that continent in which she had once possessed Canada and Louisiana, the great lakes, and the valley of the Mississippi, Guiana alone was hers. Two points on the coast of Senegal were the sum of her African dominions ; and five towns of India figured as the melancholy remnants of Dupleix's great Asiatic empire.

Since that day the French colonies in America have

remained unchanged or nearly so. In Oceania France has occupied islands which form naval stations of the first order on the route from the Straits of Magellan or the Isthmus of Panama to Australia, namely, New Caledonia, and Tahiti, with their respective dependencies. In Asia she has conquered the eastern half of Indo-China. In the Indian Ocean she has definitively hoisted her flag on Madagascar and the neighbouring islands (Comores, &c.). She is established on three sides of the continent of Africa—on the north in Algeria and Tunis, on the Mediterranean; on the western Atlantic shore in Senegal and the Upper Niger, the Guinea coast, and the Gaboon-Congo territory; and on the east in Obock on the Indian Ocean. Even without taking into account the weighty interests she maintains in Egypt, France is to-day the greatest African power.

From the geographical point of view, the French colonies may also be divided into two groups, the one comprising those tropical lands or *plantation-colonies* where the white race, enervated by the damp heat, cannot become acclimatised and reproduce itself, but where it can live, and work the colony to a profit by means of blacks, coolies, Annamites, or natives. Such are the French colonies in the Antilles, Indo-China and India, Senegal, the factories on the Guinea coast, Gaboon, &c. In the other group we have temperate lands or *population-colonies*, in which Europeans are in general more prolific than in their mother country. Such are Algeria-Tunis, the only French colony (except St. Pierre and Miquelon) which is outside the inter-tropical zone, and Madagascar and New Caledonia, which are on the confines of that zone.

The greater part of these colonies are strategical points or transit-points (*i.e.*, points past which the trade of the world must go), and constitute naval or commercial positions of the greatest importance on the ocean highway.

I. ALGERIA.

Although Algeria is no longer regarded as a colony, but as the extension of the French territory beyond the Mediterranean, it must here be given the first place, and a place by itself, in the external domain of France. Its administrative union with the mother country has deprived it of the comparative autonomy enjoyed by its administration during the military period, but that union is only the official recognition of the natural ties which unite the two Mediterranean coasts. The basin of the Mediterranean forms a physical region strongly characterised by a climate, flora, and fauna of its own. On the European slope, which faces southwards and thereby often looks the more southern of the two, we find the same species as on the African slope which faces northwards. The physical contrasts are certainly less violent, less abrupt from one shore of the Mediterranean to the other, than they are from the shores of Algeria to the Saharan slope, or from the shores of Languedoc, Provence, Roussillon, and the sunburnt walls of the Cévennes to the northern slope of the French Central Plateau. Without paradox it may be said that Europe ends at the Cévennes, and that Africa, the true Africa of the negro, only begins on the other side of the Sahara. The Great Desert marks the southern limit of that Mediterranean world to which belong Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. May we not say, indeed, that while the vast and almost impassable solitudes of the desert divide this "Africa Minor" from the Dark Continent behind it, the blue waters of the Mediterranean highway, so far from dividing it from, rather link it to southern Europe, and make it but a province of our own continent? Algeria is 406 miles from Toulon, and only 387 from Port Vendres. Steamers take twenty-six hours from Marseilles to Algiers, so that Algiers is only forty-two hours from Paris.

If we confine our attention to the races dwelling on the

two sides of the Mediterranean, we find undeniable traces of relationship. In their frequent piratical incursions on the French coasts the Moors have left lasting ethnical memories behind them. Saracen blood made its way into the French families of the South. The name of the Moors has clung to a group of mountains on the coast of Provence above Hyères and St. Tropez, where the heathen corsairs settled down, and whence they were only dislodged at the end of the tenth century. The peasants of the Cévennes appear, moreover, to possess a prehistoric community of origin with the Mahometan Berbers whom we call Kabyles, and who live in the mountain ranges of Algeria. In days gone by it was the Moors who had a footing in France, to-day it is France which has permanently established herself in Africa. The wave which beats the coast of Languedoc and Provence finds another France upon the further shore. Thus the history of our time has given a fresh justification to that name of "Inner Sea" (*Mare Internum*) which the ancients gave to the great maritime basin, the centre of which was occupied by Rome. Nor need the title of "the French Lake" any longer be regarded as the dream of a Utopia, for as far as the western basin of the Inner Sea is concerned, it looks as if the future were bound to justify it.

The Algerian coast extends for not less than 687 miles between Morocco on the west and Tunis on the east. The three great divisions of Barbary constitute a single natural region, with a powerful unity of its own, between the Atlantic and the Syrtes, and between the Sahara and the Mediterranean. The same marked physical configuration is common to them all, and each has the same characteristic mountain ridges running parallel to the coast. The general character of this mountain mass is that of a lofty plateau some 3,000 ft. in height, running from east to west, and with two slopes—a Mediterranean slope looking north, and a Saharan slope

looking south. It is not unlike the double ditch and bank which forms a favourite obstacle in an Irish steeplechase. This huge swelling of the soil of northern Africa, brought as it is into greater prominence by the Saharan depression (which in some points is below the level of the sea), recalls that Mexican Plateau which, like an impregnable citadel, rises so proudly between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Mexican Plateau is twice as high, but, apart from that difference, the analogies are striking, and Nature seems to have amused herself by reproducing the same essential features—in the one case along a longitude from north to south, and in the other case along a latitude, or in a line parallel with the equator. North Africa has its two *Sierras Madres* in the chains which form the outer edge of the High Plateaus, and which descend in successive folds, more or less irregular in size and shape, the one (*i.e.*, the Atlas) on the Mediterranean, and the other on the Sahara. Between these two crests of the edge of the High Plateaus, North Africa has its inland "bolson," and its salt "lagunas" in the numerous depressions of the *shotts* and *sebkhas*.* Lastly, the High Plateaus of Algeria have their "llanos" also, under the name of the alfa "sea,"—*i.e.*, upland steppes clothed with *diss* and *alfa* (textile plants used mainly in the manufacture of paper), but with intervening bottoms of good pasture, which are roamed over by Arab shepherds. These High Plateaus extend into Morocco, where the Atlas attains its culminating point (about 13,000 feet), and into Tunis, which practically forms the eastern slope of the Algerian highlands.

This mighty physical unity of northern Africa was bound to bring about a community of destiny in the history of its parts. For the ancients the whole region between the Syrtes

* *Shott* and *Sebkha*, any inland basin which follows the general direction of the mountains bordering the plateaus, and which has no outlet to the sea.

and the Straits of Gibraltar bore the name of *Barbary*. It is, in fact, the land of the Berbers, whose language, which is still spoken in its mountains, is totally different from Arabic. The Roman dominion extended from one end of the country to the other. When we consider this physical and ethnical unity, and its confirmation by the Roman conquest, what is the value of those distinctions and administrative divisions into four provinces which have lasted to our time—*Carthaginian Africa* (the present Tunis), *Numidia* (province of Constantine), *Mauretania Cæsariensis* (provinces of Algiers and Oran), and *Mauretania Tingitana* (the present Morocco)? For the Arab conquerors all this region formed but a single country, known to them by the name of *Moghreb* or *Maghreb*. Throughout its whole extent they planted the faith of the Prophet, and the slight admixture of Arab blood with that of the older indigenous Berber stock left a permanent trace of their occupation. In the same way, in the Middle Ages all this pirate-haunted coast of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli bore in common speech but one single collective name—the *Barbary States*. When France occupied El Djezaïr ("The Islands"—islets and rocks of the harbour, whose name by corruption became Algiers, and afterwards extended to Algeria) she struck a death-blow at that "Moghreb of the centre," which was the most famous and the most dreaded of all. Under the ascendancy of the power which thus established itself at its centre, the unity of northern Africa could not but tend to reconstitute itself, and Tunis, the most accessible of the two neighbouring countries, the least mountainous, the most commercial, and the one most open to European traffic, could not but be the first to undergo this ascendancy. As to Morocco, we shall content ourselves with reproducing here the opinions of English travellers: "There is no improvement possible in the lamentable condition of Morocco," say Hooker and Ball, "unless the country passes under the jurisdiction of a

civilised people strong enough to curb promptly the inevitable resistance of the ruling class, and enlightened enough to have the prosperity of the Moroccan people at heart. If we ask ourselves which is the European people whom circumstances point to as better adapted than any other to succeed in this enterprise, the answer is evidently the French."

Another English writer—Mr. Grant Allen*—expresses himself not less decisively in the same sense:—"I think we in England have perhaps too much overlooked the importance and magnitude of the vigorous French movement for the re-conquest of the Barbary coast for civilisation We have, perhaps, under-estimated the value and reality of the sure and solid work which France is doing for the world in Algeria and Tunis, and which, it is to be hoped, no petty national jealousy on the part of any other European State will prevent her from carrying out equally well in Morocco. . . . If France is not artificially cramped by the action of other nationalities she will, no doubt, win back Morocco, too, for European civilisation It is earnestly to be hoped that the French influence will not be interfered with. It will be a great misfortune for the civilised world if she is not allowed, quietly and without any partition difficulty, to extend in this direction her natural sphere . . . It is to be hoped that diplomacy will not sever Morocco from its natural alliance with the rest of the unbroken Atlas range, and build up again in Africa those false frontiers and artificial divisions which have burdened Europe but will build up one single, compact, recovered State, with one great trunk-line of consistent communications, from the Dra and the Atlantic to the Syrtis and Tripoli."

When we examine the configuration of Algeria in detail, the great diversity of its formation, and the local exceptions of a striking kind that occur make us lose sight to some

* In the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1888.

extent of the structural simplicity presented by the relief of the ground when contemplated as a whole. The skeleton or framework of the country forms a regular geometrical figure enough. But this skeleton is clothed with the flesh and blood of the geological facts, and those facts present a great, sometimes even a confused, variety. The coast is generally a high and abrupt wall, carved into cliffs, and intersected by the exquisitely outlined bays of Mers el Kébir and Oran, Arzeu, Algiers, Bougie, Djijelli, Collo, Philippeville-Stora, and Bône. Immediately above it rise the mountain ranges. Some of these latter are known by the name of *Sahel*, which simply means "coast." These summits and coast-ranges are isolated by valleys, plains, and more or less marked depressions from higher inland chains. The latter are seamed by oleander-grown ravines, and form the birthplace of rivers (*oued*), which here dash down headlong to the sea, and there meander leisurely through the plain. One *oued* only, the Chelif, the principal Algerian river, rises in the High Plateaus, and has had to carve the Boghar defile through the whole ridge in order to find an outlet to the sea. Other gorges of the northern slope are merely partial gaps in an intermediate chain, as, for instance, the gorges of Chiffa and Chabet-el-Akra. To this northern slope of the North African land is given the name of TELL—a term of elastic signification, since it is used broadly to describe the cultivable portion of the country, in contradistinction to the upland pastures and to the Saharan slope. At the present time the reclamation and cultivation by French colonists of a large part of the High Plateaus to that extent curtails the feeding-grounds of camels, sheep and cattle, which are inhabited only by wandering Arabs; and the Tell, the land of the plough and spade, of cereals and vineyards, encroaches more and more on the Plateau, which will grow cereals wherever there is water. In this Algeria, so diversified by the almost artistic

moulding of its Tell, so deeply impressive by the vast horizons of its High Plateaus, and so grand by the infinite perspectives of its Sahara, the richest natural products and the greenest crops have fallen to the share of the Tell. There the native populations are densest, and there the colonists throng most closely. If we could take a bird's-eye view of the country, and taking passage in a balloon from the French coast were to descend at El Goléa (Algerian Sahara), following the meridian line all the way, we should see, after passing the blue zone of the Mediterranean, these three successive zones, from north to south :—(1) a green zone, the Tell ; (2) a grey zone, the High Plateaus of alfa ; and (3) a yellow or tawny zone, spotted with black, the oasis-studded Sahara. From one zone to the other the climate varies greatly, and the local climates, which are further diversified and multiplied by the differences in the elevation of the ground, are marked by infinite variety—sometimes very cold, sometimes burning, sometimes temperate ; swept either by the withering blasts of the sirocco or else by hurricanes of snow. The summers are very hot, and in the mountains of the Tell—at Medea, at Fort National, or at Constantine—the winters are severe. The pleasantest season is the spring.

• Life is remarkably active on the coast and throughout the Northern slope, in the valleys, in the plains (which once were marshy, but have now been reclaimed by the eucalyptus and the plough), and round the bays, as well as in the mountain ranges, which here and there form natural strongholds, where the native Berber population took refuge in the days of the Arab conquest. While the lower pasture-grounds were an easy conquest for the knights of Islam, the summits provided the native tribes with an inviolable retreat. Even to this day these same ranges emerge like islands amid the lands occupied by European colonisation. KABYLIA, east of Algiers, is at once the most

mountainous portion of the coast region (its highest range, the *Djurdjura*, is 7,572 feet high), and the most thickly peopled district, the compactest block of Berber population. This name of Kabylia given to the country, and that of Kabyles given to its inhabitants, is a mere transcription of the Arab word *Kbail*, which means "the tribes." The density of its population exceeds 83 per square mile. Between Bougie and Sétif is Little Kabylia, in the Babor group (6,493 feet); and Dahra is another little Berber Kabylia on the coast, between Mostaganem and Cherchel. In the Saharan chain the highest range is that of the AURÈS. It is here that Chélia, the highest summit of all Algeria, rises to a height of 7,638 feet. The mountaineers who inhabit the range are Berbers.

But these compact blocks of native population, Berber and not Arab, which, whether they speak the Berber language alone, or, whether they speak Arabic, are in all cases subject to the faith of the Prophet, are surrounded on all sides by the rising flood of French colonisation. It is this colonisation which—occasionally reviving the Roman tradition, but more often coming as an innovator in a country devoid of any recollection of antiquity—has covered the Algerian Tell with towns and busy prosperous villages.* A railway parallel to the sea runs from the frontier of Morocco to Tunis, connecting the great towns of Oran, Algiers, and Constantine. It is, as it were, the line of life of northern Africa along the Mediterranean slope. This railway follows the valley of the Chélif, past Orléansville, between the ranges of Dahra and Zaccar (5,150 ft.) on the north, and that of Ouarsénis (6,513 ft.) on the

* Towns and communes in 1886—Algiers (74,792¹ inhabitants; with the suburbs, 107,950); Oran (67,681); Constantine (44,960); Bône (29,640); Tlemcen (28,204); Blida (24,304); Philippeville (22,177); Sidi bel Abbès (21,595); Mascara (15,453); Mostaganem (13,794); Bougie (12,167), &c.

south, runs on to Blida—the gay city of oranges—and debouches into the rich plain of the Métidja, which is separated from the sea by the heights of the beautiful Sahel of Algiers. This Sahel is a little Sicily by the side of the Bay of Algiers, which itself is not inferior to the Bay of Naples. Beyond Algiers the railway slips into the gorges of the Isser, and so turns the snowy range of Great Kabylia on its southern side, crosses the famous Iron Gates or Biban, mounts to the Sétif plateaus (3,596 ft.), between the Little Kabylia of the Babor and the Bou Thaleb, then continues eastward by the valley of the Seybouse, passing by Hammam Meskhoutine—thermal springs famous for the fantastic calcareous formations they have made—and, leaving the smiling valley of the Seybouse, which descends on Bône, makes its way into the valley of the Medjerda at Souk Ahras, and by the gorges of the Medjerda descends on Tunis.

This longitudinal or trunk-line which thus finds room for itself between the mountain-folds of the northern slope, at varying distances from the coast and the High Plateaus, is fed by cross-country or penetration-lines which start from the coast and make for the interior. One of these runs from Oran into the high Sig valley by Sidi bel Abbès; another from Arzeu in the direction of Figuig on the Saharan slope, going right across the High Plateaus and one of the great Shotts on the way. This railway, which first runs up the valleys of, first, the Macta and then the Habra, carries the alfa which is exported, chiefly to England, by the port of Arzeu. A third line runs from Bougie up the Sahel valley; a fourth from Bône up the Seybouse valley; while a fifth makes its way from Philippeville to Constantine by the valley of the Saf-Saf. South of Constantine—the ancient *Cirta* of the Numidians, grandly posed upon its quadrangular rock, which is more than half disrooted by the deep abyss at the bottom of which flows the Roummel—

the railway crosses the High Plateau of Batna (3,366 ft.), in the neighbourhood of fine forests between the Tougourt (6,844 ft.) and the Aurès ranges, and descends upon the Saharan slope by the famous cleft of El Kantara, or the Bridge (called also the "Mouth of the Desert"). It is still only the "Little Desert" for some distance beyond that point; but who can forget the exaltation of spirit experienced on suddenly descrying through that narrow fissure in a tawny crag, under the dazzle of the sun, the serried palm-trees of the El Kantara oasis, lifting their crowded fronds against the deep azure of the sky? Thence the line descends to Biskra in full desert, where the overworked Parisian loves to go in search of a few days of enchantment and forgetfulness.

Of these cross-country lines, that of Figuig runs through South Oran, and from Figuig it will ultimately descend upon Insalah and Touat; while that of Biskra, which runs through southern Constantine, will be carried on past the great Saharan Shotts to Tougourt and Ouargla. This is the region of the finest oases. Biskra is the chief oasis of Ziban on the southern slope of the Aurès; Tougourt is the most important centre of the oases of the Oued Rirh. Here the artesian wells sunk thirty years ago (1856) in the middle of the desert have transformed barren ground into a land of promise and a garden of abundance. It is a little Egypt watered by a subterranean Nile. The artesian and other wells between them discharge regularly five and a quarter cubic yards of water per second. This considerable volume of water comes from a depth of 230 to 246 feet, with an average temperature of 77° Fahrenheit. Side by side with the ancient oases, new oases are being formed every year amid the vast steppes of this region, each one around a bubbling well. The date-palm flourishes, thanks to the subterranean Nile, the invisible Oued (river) which the artesian borer brings to light.

There it grows in its element, "its feet in the water and its head in the fire." After paying all expenses of cultivation, the date-palm may bring in annually £16 per acre. These successful farmers in the heart of the desert are Frenchmen.

No line of rail has yet penetrated into the Sahara south of Algiers in the direction of Laghouat and the towns of Mزاب (Guerrara, Berrian, Ghardéïa, Metlili), and further still, in the direction of El Goléa, which, though under the meridian of Algiers, is hardly nearer that town on the south than is Marseilles on the north. This is at present the southernmost post we occupy in the Algerian Sahara. But further south are the beautiful oases of Touat (Tidikelt, Gourara, &c.), with Insalah for a kind of capital, on the caravan route to the Niger and Timbuctoo. These oases, which are accessible either by El Goléa (the shortest route), or, more easily, by Figuig, are within Algeria's sphere of action. Without going beyond El Goléa, where her authority makes itself permanently felt, European France and African France together extend at the present time from north to south over 21 degrees of latitude (51° to 30°). It is 437 miles in a direct line from El Goléa to Algiers, 465 from Algiers to Marseilles, and 500 from Marseilles to Havre.

In 1886 the total population of Algeria was 3,910,399 inhabitants (of which number 581,339 represented the "agglomerate" population).^{*} Of this total 3,324,475 lived in the "civil territory" (or the territory "administered by civil authority"), which roughly corresponds to the entire extent of the Tell—not merely the Tell confined to the Mediterranean slope, but the Tell in the fullest meaning of the term—and which at present covers an extent of about 46,500 square miles. This represents a population of about seventy-three inhabitants per square mile. 585,924

^{*} *I.e.*, the population of the towns and chief villages.

persons lived in the "military territory" (*territoire de commandement*), i.e., on the High Plateaus, in the Ksour (villages) and oases of the Sahara. Here the population is very thin, but every day sees an increase in the superficies of the Tell and of the civil territory, and a corresponding diminution in the superficies of the unproductive and desert Sahara.

Algeria is divided into three departments, Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. The civil territory is divided into seventeen *arrondissements*, with a total of 232 "communes in full activity," administered like those in France (natives are represented in the municipal councils), and 78 "mixed communes," where the native element is strong and numerous in presence of an insignificant European minority. Each of these mixed communes is governed by a "civil administrator," assisted by a municipal committee, which is appointed by the prefect. The military territory is divided into eight "mixed communes" and fifteen "native communes" (the last-named corresponding to the Arab tribes of the High Plateaus and the Sahara), administered by "Arab bureaus." It comprises the subdivisions of Aumale and Médéa (Algiers), of Batna and Constantine (Constantine), and of Mascara and Tlemcen (Oran).

Although Algeria is under the authority of a civil Governor-general, every one of its official departments is administered directly by the Minister whose province it is—or, in official phrase, is "attached" to the corresponding Ministry in Paris. The Governor is, however, assisted by a Director of civil affairs, a Government Council, and a Higher Council composed of members of the Government Council and of Councillors-general. Algeria forms the territory of the Nineteenth army corps, and has its own Court of Appeal (Algiers), whose jurisdiction covers Tunis also. It sends six deputies and three senators to the Parliament in Paris. The French administration is, as it were, added

on to the old native organisation, which has been preserved in the civil as well as in the military territory, and which is based on the tribe, or, in the Kabyle country, on the commune.

The Arab tribe, made up of 100 to 500 tents, and commanded by a Caïd, is subdivided into Douars, each of which consists of ten to thirty tents, under the authority of headmen (*chefs de douars*). The assembly of the headmen forms the Djemmaa or municipal council of the tribe. On the High Plateaus the tribes are grouped into Caïdats or Aghaliks, governed by an Agha. The combinations of several Aghaliks form a Khalifa, with a khalif or Bach-agma at its head. In each tribe justice is administered by the Cadi or native magistrate. The Mahakmas are the courts of first instance; the Medjlès, the courts of appeal. Arab society is organised on an aristocratic basis. The Chérifs, or descendants of the Prophet's daughter, form the aristocracy of blood; the Djouad, or descendants of the Arab conquerors, are the military aristocracy; while the Marabouts form the religious aristocracy.

The social system of the non-nomad Kabyles is democratic in form and without distinct castes. The Dechera (commune), subdivided into Karouba (families), is the basis of their organisation, and is administered by a Djemmaa (municipal council), which elects its Amin or mayor.

In 1886 the total population of Algeria was distributed in the following manner :—

French by birth or naturalisation	...	219,627	}	262,222
Jews (naturalised in 1870, 23,320; or born since 1870, 19,275), who are				
French citizens	...	42,595		
Native French subjects (Arabs, Kabyles, Mzabites)	...	3,262,422	}	3,284,762
Tunisians (4,895), Moroccans (17,445)...		22,340		
Carried forward	...	...		3,546,984

Brought forward	...	...	...	3,546,984
Foreigners of various nationalities	...	...	...	205,212
Population counted separately (army, prisons, schools, asylums, &c.)— for the most part French	...	...	...	65,269
Total (incomplete)	...	...	...	3,817,465

The civil population of French origin has doubled since 1860. It has grown steadily since the conquest (which was completed in 1847 with the capture of Abd-el-Kader, or perhaps we ought to say in 1857, the date of the subjugation of Kabylia), as the following figures will show :—

Years	1833	1835	1838	1846	1851	1856
			(After the taking of Constantine)	(After the taking of Biskra.)	(After the submission of Abd-el Kader.)	(After the occupation of Laghouat.)
French Civilians } (in round numbers) ...	3,480	4,890	8,000	47,270	66,000	92,740

Years	1861	1866	1872	1876	1881	1886
French Civilians } (in round numbers) ...	112,230	122,000	130,000	156,200	195,400	219,600

This increase does not arise only from immigration ; it is due also to the excess of births over deaths. The Frenchman is now so thoroughly acclimatised in Algeria that he has more children there than in his mother-country. It is the same, moreover, with the Spaniards, Italians, and Maltese, who form the greatest portion of the foreign population—the Spaniards chiefly in the department of Oran, which is only 8 hours from Carthage ; and the Italians chiefly in that of Constantine.

The natives belong to two distinct races : the Berbers, who form by far the most considerable native substratum ; and the Arabs. But the two races have mingled freely—at

least, outside the mountains. Many Berbers have been Arabised, and Arabs Berberised ; and it is a mistake to give the name of Arab to all nomads, or the name of Berber to all non-nomad mountaineers. It is impossible to distinguish race origins in all cases, but the natives may be classified according to their mode of life into two categories : the settled tillers of the ground, and the nomad shepherds. The Kabyles, peasant mountaineers, offer the most perfect type of the first. Their separate language, their religious indifference (the Koran is only their religious book and not, as with the Arabs, their civil law), their gentler treatment of women, their powerful democratic and communal organisation, their love of labour and of the soil they have parcelled out and which they till so well, their passion for business and for education, their way of living (in houses and not in tents), their respect for the Sunday as a holiday (and not for the Friday, as is the case with the Arabs),—all these characteristics make it easier for French civilisation to assimilate them than can be the case with the nomad shepherds, those intangible wanderers of the steppes and the desert who camp in tents and sleep beneath the stars. Great lords are the latter, stately, proud, temperate, contemptuous and haughty, fanatical and indolent, with all the tawny beauty of their wild beasts, and the stormy and fitful character of their vast horizons. Gaily-dressed negroes from the Soudan make their appearance in the towns and oases. The Jewish population, which is numerous in Algeria, was naturalised *en bloc* in 1870.

The long white burnouses in which the native—whether Arab or Berber—majestically wraps himself combines with the green of the landscape and the blue of an Algerian sky to present an exquisite harmony of simple tones. Like the dazzlingly white Moorish houses, and the white-washed domes of the mausoleums (*Koubba*) beneath which some holy marabout lies buried, the burnouses help to make up

that trinity of colour—white, green, and blue—which composes the whole luminous harmony, than which nothing can be conceived more soft and delicate, of the Algerian landscape. In presence of that unity of shape and sober colouring, how far removed we feel from the motley hues of our own multiform and many-coloured clothes ! Arab dress—the dress of the shepherd-peoples and of the patriarchs ; of the men of old, who lived in tents in the plains of Asia, and led the life of nomads—adds its own beauty to the virile beauty of the native types. It gives them all an incomparable dignity, a sovereign grandeur, a simplicity of manner and bearing which is almost sacerdotal. The whole history of the ancient world is written in its noble folds.

Algeria possesses four schools of higher education (law ; medicine and pharmacy ; physical science, with an astronomical observatory, a marine zoological station, and a weather service ; and literature, with courses of the Kabyle and Arabic languages). These schools are at Algiers.

	Year 1885-86.			Year 1884.
	Number of Courses.	Names Entered.	Students.	Students.
Law	19	679	280	370
Medicine and Pharmacy ...	?	253	?	92
Physical Science	10	?	39	25
Literature	11	?	32	132

Algiers, moreover, possesses a School of Art (12 courses, 229 pupils in 1883-84).

There are three Mahometan higher schools (*médersa*) in Algeria, which are intended for the training of future administrators of justice in Mahometan courts of law. These schools are at Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemcen, and had 68 pupils in 1885-86.

For secondary education there are three lycées (Algiers, Constantine, and Ben-Aknoun), and fifteen colleges or petty seminaries. For the scholastic year 1885-86, there were 3,352 pupils (3,699, including 347 girls).

For primary education there are four training schools (142 pupil teachers), and 940 primary schools attended by 65,940 pupils with 1,754 masters; 5,700 native children attend these schools. The maternal and infant schools (about 22,000 children) are not included in these figures.

The agricultural population in 1885 amounted to 2,909,208 persons, of whom 176,700 were Europeans owning farms to the extent of 2,916,156 acres in 1884. This population possessed 382,586 agricultural implements of a value exceeding £920,000, and 14,262,313 head of all kinds of cattle:—

Pigs ...	...	...	79,000
Mules ...	...	...	136,000
Horses ...	...	...	166,000
Camels ...	...	...	241,000
Asses ...	...	...	273,000
Oxen ...	...	...	1,165,000
Goats ...	...	...	4,426,000
Sheep ...	...	...	7,776,000

Out of this total the European agricultural population owned 679,206 head. A stud-book was established in 1886 for the preservation of the excellent Algerian breed of horses, the pure barb and the Syrian barb.

The tables on the next page show the agricultural production in 1885 from farms covering a superficies of about 24,711,431 acres (10,000,000 hectares):

Nature of Crop.	Grown by Europeans.		Grown by Natives.		TOTALS.	
	Superficies in Acres.	Harvest in Bushels.	Superficies in Acres.	Harvest in Bushels.	Superficies in Acres.	Harvest in Bushels.
Wheat and Barley	1,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	24,000,000	7,000,000	30,000,000, of which 10 per cent. Soft Wheat; 30 per cent. Hard Wheat; 60 per cent. Barley.
Wine*	Acres Planted.	Yield in Gallons.				
	175,000	35,000,000				
Tobacco. European Planters " Native Planters ...	Number of Planters.	Superficies in Acres.	Weight of Leaf in lbs.			
	1,124 { 7,209 }	25,000	10,000,000			
Olives	lbs. of Olives.					
	60,000,000					
Flax	Growers.					
	278					
Silk†	Breeders.					
	4					
Alfa or E-parto	Weight in Tons.	Average Value per Ton.				
	130,000	£6				

* The Algerian wine-growers carried off 165 awards at the Liverpool International Exhibition in 1886.

† Sericulture in Algeria is dying out.

Every year about 1,853,357 acres (750,000 hectares), hitherto covered with brushwood or dwarf palms, are cleared; 32,000,000 to 33,000,000 trees of all kinds are planted (7,000,000 fruit trees, 700,000 to 750,000 bananas, orange and lemon trees, 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 grafted olive trees, 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 mulberry trees, 17,000,000 to 19,000,000 resinous and forest trees); 27,000 farmers maintain 200,000 hives; 86,490 acres are laid out in vegetables; 29,653 to 32,124 in potatoes, the same number in prepared pastures, and 44,480 to 46,950 in food-roots and plants for cattle. The little-grown carthamus, madder, henna, indigo, cochineal, colza, castor, ground-nuts, cotton, (the cultivation of which is dying out) and dead-nettle should be mentioned, but only *pro memoriâ*.

Forests—or, rather, forest-land—cover an area of 6,882,586 acres (1884), thus distributed among the different species:—

	Acres.
Cork tree	1,078,742
Evergreen oak	1,890,006
Hard-timbered Algerian oak (<i>chêne zéne</i>)	127,305
Aleppo pine	2,123,356
Pinaster	4,187
Cedar	93,883
Tuya	396,712
Other trees	1,168,395
	<hr/> 6,882,586

Between 1867 and 1884 Algeria exported over a million tons of *Alfa*, representing a market value of £5,080,000.

In 1885 259,758 tons of alfa were harvested. Of this total, only 3,475 tons were taken by France; almost all the remainder was shipped to England. Alfa is grown over a surface of 1,193,560 acres.

The great enemy of agriculture in Algeria, the locust, alights in swarms on the borders of the High Plateaus.

Careful search is made for its eggs during the winter. The natives are liable to be impressed for the destruction of these locusts. In 1885, 360 cubic yards of eggs, and 12,434 cubic yards of locusts were thus destroyed in 1,665,572 days' work furnished by the impressed natives.

The lion and the panther, &c., still inhabit the forests of Algeria. The lion is chiefly hunted in the mountains of the Tunisian frontier, east of Bône and Souk Ahras, and in the neighbourhood of Bouira, on the southern slope of Great Kabylia. Between 1873 and 1884, a period of twelve years, 202 lions, 1,214 panthers, 29,067 hyenas and jackals were killed. The province of Constantine, which is by far the most wooded, is also by far the richest in wild beasts.

There are rich *iron* mines in Algeria (the most important being those of Mokta-el-Hadid at Ain Mokra, and the deposits of Beni-Saf), as well as veins of copper, zinc, and argentiferous lead. At the end of 1884 there were forty-one mining concessions, covering a total surface of 143,038 acres (combustible minerals, 2,335 acres; iron workings, 38,574 acres, &c.); but the mineral production of unconceded lands is far greater than that of the concessions. In 1884 Algeria consumed 137,000 tons of coal; 120,000 tons being imported from England, and the rest from France. Algeria possesses one mine of lignite, but it has long been abandoned. Of iron ores, the production in 1884 was 493,000 tons, a diminution of 64,000 tons on the preceding year. The average price is 6s. 7d. per ton, delivered at the quay at Bône or Philippeville. The number of hands employed was 1,525. These Algerian iron ores were imported into France to the amount of 187,000 tons (a considerable diminution in comparison with previous years—*e.g.*, 384,000 in 1875), into England to the amount of 133,000 tons, &c. The mine of Kef-Oum-Theboul produced 13,700 tons of composite minerals—copper pyrites, argentiferous galena, and sulphate of zinc—which were sent

to England along with 7,600 tons of old residues. The mines of calamine, zinc, argentiferous galena, nadorite, oxide of antimony, and iron pyrites produce a few thousand tons only, not amounting to £40,000 in value. Out of a total of 27,200 tons of metallic products exported in 1884, England received 11,720 of copper ore, 13,409 of lead ore, &c. The total mineral production in 1884 reached 524,113 tons. The value of the products at the mines amounted to £208,933 15s. Three hundred open quarries furnish beautiful marbles, gypsum, free-stone, &c. Algeria also possesses mines of rock-salt, salt-springs, and salt-lakes, which supply the wants of the natives chiefly. Mineral springs are very numerous. The word "hammam" (hot spring) forms the prefix of a great many local names, *e.g.*, Hammam Rirha, near Algiers, which is a favourite resort of foreign visitors.

The *commerce* of Algeria, the total value of which had reached its maximum of £22,480,000 in 1882, fell in 1885 to £17,336,000, a lower figure than that of any of the last six years.

Imports	...	...	...	£9,520,000
Exports	...	...	...	7,816,000
Total				£17,336,000

In 1884, when the total was £18,640,000 (imports £11,600,000, exports £7,040,000), the value of the imports was distributed as follows among the countries supplying them:—

France	{ For consumption, £8,680,000 }	£10,040,000
	{ In bond, £1,360,000 ... }	
England	...	644,000
Spain	...	244,000
Barbary States	...	220,000
Belgium	...	88,000
Sweden and Norway	...	80,000
Italy	...	60,000
French Colonies	...	40,000

The value of the exports in the same year, classified by the countries receiving them, was as follows :—

France ...	£4,660,000
England ...	1,120,000
Barbary States	408,000
Spain ...	380,000
Belgium ...	116,000
Italy ...	112,000
Russia ...	60,000
Holland ...	48,000
United States	40,000

Algeria holds the eighth place among the countries which consume French goods, and comes immediately after England in the importance of its sea-borne commerce with France.

In the seventeen Algerian ports (Nemours, Beni-Saf, Mers-el-Kebir, Oran, Arzew, Mostaganem, Ténès, Cherchel, Algiers, Dellis, Bougie, Djijelli, Collo, Stora, Philippeville, Bône, and La Calle) the navigation of 1885 was represented by the following figures (coasting trade not included) :—

	Entries.	Clearances.
Vessels	4,385	4,427
Tonnage	1,921,794	1,956,007

In this movement Oran, Algiers, Philippeville, and Bône take the largest share.

	Entries.		Clearances.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Oran	1,309	496,170	1,326	478,682
Algiers	985	595,173	896	553,954
Philippeville	568	312,076	513	279,987
Bône	617	281,580	638	297,121

In 1884 (out of a total of 3,579 vessels, 1,661,786 tonnage, and 75,529 crews) the share of the different flags was as follows:—

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Crews.
French... ..	1,634	1,024,328	49,936
Spanish	679	72,120	7,006
English	519	413,398	11,851
Italian ...	469	39,283	3,301
Greek ...	40	10,092	354
Swedish	19	8,083	249
Norwegian	63	27,083	737
Belgian	30	26,062	550
Dutch ...	17	13,290	404
Austrian	31	16,543	446

The coasting trade in 1885 was carried on by 4,615 vessels, with a total tonnage of 1,675,805.

In 1883 there were 1,584 fishing-smacks, coasters, coral-fishers, &c. The sardine fishery is pursued on the coast. The coral banks have been less frequented of late years, as the coral-fishers are now chiefly engaged upon the recently-discovered Sicilian banks.

The Budget of Algeria in 1883 was — revenue, £1,745,264 5s. ; expenditure (military expenditure not included), £1,540,296 12s. 10d.

At the end of 1885 the savings' banks held a sum exceeding £180,000.

The chief Banking institutions are the Bank of Algeria, the Algerian Land and Agricultural Bank (*Crédit Foncier et Agricole*), the Algerian Company, and the *Crédit Lyonnais* (Algiers and Oran branches). These great establishments are supplemented by the Discount-offices which are at work in most of the agricultural centres.

The Postal and Telegraphic revenues of the 452 existing offices amounted to £140,000 in 1885. Five submarine

cables (three between Algiers and Marseilles, and two between Bône and Marseilles) connect Algeria with France. The two Bône cables belong to an English company. They touch land at Bône, and then take the sea again, landing first at Malta, and then at Alexandria. Two other submarine cables (one from Bône to Tunis, and the other from La Calle to Bizerta) connect Algeria and Tunis. Algeria had 1,359 miles of railway in working order in 1887.

In 1885 the revenues of Registration, Domain lands, and Stamps exceeded £440,000. The Customs' revenues were £540,000. The Arab taxes brought in £612,000.*

Frenchmen, or even Europeans living in Africa, like Colonel Playfair, the British consul-general, might be suspected of partiality in their judgment of African France. We shall confine ourselves to the most impartial foreigners, and ask them their opinion on the work accomplished in Algeria. "As far as the gift of colonisation goes," an eminent Russian traveller (M. de Tchihatchef) declares, "France has no need to envy the most favoured nations. The work accomplished in Algeria, very rarely equalled, has nowhere been surpassed." The famous German explorer Rohlfs corroborates this testimony: "Anyone who has had the opportunity of seeing, as I have done," he says, "the prodigious engineering works executed by the

* These taxes are assessed on camels, oxen, sheep, and goats (the *Zekkat* tax); on ploughs, which are classified according to the year's harvest (*Achour* tax, in the departments of Algiers and Oran), or according to their value (*Achour* and *Hokor* tax, in the department of Constantine). The *Lexma* (poll tax) is a Kabyle tax of the department of Algiers; the *lexma*, which takes the form of a hearth tax, is a Kabyle tax of the department of Constantine. There is, moreover, the *lexma* on date-palms in the departments of Algiers and Constantine. These two departments are also the only ones in which there is a fixed *lexma* that does not vary. Formerly the *Achour* tax was imposed in the case of cereals only. At the present time every crop, every product of the soil in the departments of Algiers and Oran, is equally affected by it. No land tax, on the other hand, is levied on the European colonists by the State; there is one for departmental purposes.

French in Algeria, will only feel pity for those who, with all those admirable results confronting them, would dare still to assert that the French do not know how to colonise."

Mr. Grant Allen describes our colony as follows*:—"For energy, thoroughness, and organising ability, nothing like Algeria is to be seen in any British colony. If one compares the country for ten miles round Algiers with the country for ten miles round Montreal or Toronto, the comparison is indeed anything but flattering to our self-complacent colonising British intelligence. Here you are simply and solely in pure Europe. . . . No wooden shams, no flimsy makeshifts; everything has a European solidity and completeness; the vineyards remind one of the Côte d'Or or the Gironde; the roads are the magnificent French highways; the walls and bridges, the houses and engineering works, have a French neatness and perfection of workmanship. No town in any English colony that I know of is half so much like England as Algiers—with its stately boulevards and splendid warehouses—is like Marseilles or Toulon. For most practical purposes, indeed, Algeria may be looked upon just as three departments of France, accidentally cut off from the rest of the Republic by the Mediterranean; and Tunis is rapidly assuming a similar character. Yet here the French had to contend, not only with a rugged and trackless country, but also with a hostile race, an alien religion, a lower civilisation, and inferior social order. And, in spite of it all, to-day in Algeria, among palms and aloes, mosques and Arabs, squalid villages and Oriental beggars, one constantly forgets, in the smoothness and ease of every-day life, that one is not in France itself; one remembers with a start that this is still Africa. . . . Any unprejudiced observer who looks at the marvellous result the French have already obtained in little more than fifty years in Algeria cannot help admitting that their conquest of North Africa has been a real boon to

* *Contemporary Review* for April, 1888.

the civilised world—cannot help seeing that from Algiers as a centre civilised habits and modes of action are gradually filtering through to the very desert.”

Of such testimony the Algerians are justly proud. They foresee in the dim future an unlimited extension and infinite progress, and they believe firmly that Algeria, as it exists to-day, is but the gateway of a world.

II. TUNIS.

Whether considered from the point of view of its physical configuration or its native population (which is also divided into Arab and Berber), Tunis is the eastern complement of Algeria. Her territory occupies the eastern slope of the great mountain range of northern Africa. It is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Gabès or Syrtis Minor, which forms a hollow in the coast, and is prolonged into the interior by the low depression of the basin of the Saharan Shotts. This depression continues as far as a point south of the department of Constantine, between Biskra and Tougourt, where it is eighty-two to ninety-eight feet below the level of the sea. The Sahara, which lies beyond the Shotts, the mountain plateaus and low hills which lie beyond the Gulf of Gabès, and the island of Djerba near the coast, carry on Tunis to the confines of Tripoli, which is also a Barbary State.

In Tunis the Tell and the High Plateaus intermingle, almost as they do in the east of the department of Constantine, and the country is divided into two natural regions only, the Tell and the Sahara. On the north is the Tell, a mountainous and broken country, but nearly everywhere capable of cultivation, and furrowed by the enormous trench where flows the Medjerda. The river threads the three rich lake-basins through which it flows (the plain of Souk-Ahras in Algeria, the plain of Dakhla, and the plain

of Tébourba), like beads on a rosary, and connects them one with another by deep defiles and narrow gorges. To the south and south-east is the Sahara, at the foot of the last slopes of the ranges which form the prolongation of the Aurès and Tebessa mountains. It is composed of vast pasture-lands, which here and there assume the character of desert and of low Saharan plains. This is the eastern plain from which rises the mountain range that runs from end to end of Barbary. To the east stretches the great marshy plain of Kairwan, with its line of lagoons and flats (*sebkha*) which run parallel to the coast, and separate the plain from the Mediterranean. To the south are the oases of Gafsa, Tozeur, Nefta, which border upon the inner basin of the great Shotts. This is the Desert land of palm-trees (the *Djerid*), of the best dates, and the finest fruits.

Tunis adds to Algeria 625 miles of coast, generally high and rocky to the north, low and sandy to the east, intersected by the bay of Bizerta and by the gulfs of Tunis, Hammamet, and Gabès. Between Tunis and Hammamet the mountain region throws out towards Sicily the long peninsula of Cape Bon. Between the gulfs of Hammamet and Gabès the projection of the coast—behind which lies the row of sebkhas—forms the “littoral” (Sahel) of Soussa and of Sfax. This is a green and fertile zone, rounding off the barren plain of Kairwan. In this Sahel good arable lands yield rich harvests; and, nearer the sea, the stony soil is clothed with an immense forest of olive-trees.

In the northernmost part of the projection formed by Tunis in the centre of the Mediterranean, opens out the harbour of Bizerta, at the entrance of a lake. “In the hands of a European power,” says Col. Playfair, “the lake of Bizerta would become one of the finest harbours and strongest strategic points in the Mediterranean basin. A comparatively small outlay would be sufficient to create this harbour, which would be admirably sheltered, and

which would contain sixty-six square miles of anchorage for large vessels." Though 436 miles distant from Toulon, Bizerta may perhaps one day be a new Toulon, brother and friend of the other ; while Tunis, situated on an isthmus between two lagoons, may become a little Marseilles, a new Carthage by the side of the ruins of Rome's ancient rival. Pending the excavation of the port of Tunis in the lagoon, over the entrance to which La Goletta, posted at the foot of the Carthage plateau, keeps watch and ward, La Goletta acts as the port of the capital. Further south, Soussa (whence starts the Kairwan railway), Monastir, Mahdia, Sfax (situated in the centre of fine oases on a roadstead of soft mud, which is sheltered by the Kerkenna islands) are the outlets of the Sahel region to the sea. Behind the sandy beach of Gabès, the vast oasis of Gabès is the head of the southern routes, the starting-point for the Ghadamès caravans ; and Zarzis is the harbour of the mountainous region (Djebel Douirat) bordering on Tripoli. Next to Tunis, Sfax and Soussa are the most populous centres of the country.

The treaty of Kassar-Saïd (May 12, 1881), supplemented by the convention of La Marsa (June 8, 1883), placed Tunis under the protectorate of France. The different departments of the administration are attached to the corresponding ministries at Paris. The nominal ruler of Tunis is the Bey. He receives a civil list amounting to £48,000. By his side is the representative of France, who holds the title of Resident-General. French Civil Controllers, distributed throughout the country, look to its good administration, and direct it on the spot. The Tunisian Debt has been converted under the guarantee of France. This debt, which amounted to £5,789,000 at the moment of the conversion, requires an annual sum of £240,000 for the payment of interest. The Consolidated debt is estimated at £5,000,000 ; the Floating debt at £702,000.

The annual expenditure of the Budget, which is more than covered by the revenue, amounts to £800,000. The military division occupying the country is about 14,000 strong. Its maintenance costs the French Budget an annual sum of £480,000. Tunis is within the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal at Algiers. French law, which is applied in cases where natives and foreigners or foreigners alone are concerned, has taken the place of the system of capitulations, now abolished. The Archbishop of Algiers, who has also the title of Archbishop of Carthage, looks after the religious interests of about 35,000 Catholics (French, Italians, Maltese, &c.), a small, but at the same time powerful, minority in the midst of the Mahometan population, and side by side with another religious minority the 45,000 Tunisian Jews. Public education has developed rapidly. At the present day (1887) there is not a single locality of any importance which does not possess one or two schools. There are in all fifty-six European schools, six of which are foreign schools subsidised by the Italian Government: of the total thirty are for boys, twenty-three for girls, and three for both sexes; forty-one are maintained at the cost of the Tunisian Government, and fifteen are private. Thirty-six schools are secular, twenty directed by members of religious communities. The number of scholars of both sexes attending schools where French is taught exceeds 5,200.

The Sadiki College, which represents the Mahometan higher education, gives instruction to 280 pupils. The St. Charles College (French secondary education) has 8 professors and 260 pupils. The Alaoui College, or primary training school, has 230 pupils. There is a higher course for girls. All these establishments are dependent on the State of Tunis.

The Commerce of Tunis amounted in 1885 to the value of £1,880,000.

Imports	...	...	...	£1,120,000
Exports	...	...	...	760,000
				<hr/> £1,880,000

The chief exports were :—

Olive oil...	...	...	...	£260,000
Alfa or esparto	...	...	...	80,000
Barley ..	...	...	...	40,000
Other cereals ..	...	...	...	92,000
Sponges...	...	...	...	52,000
Dried vegetables	...	...	...	20,000
Dates	...	...	...	4,240

The commerce of Tunis with France was as follows for the two years 1884 and 1885—

	1884.	1885.
Imported into France ...	£398,400	£250,000
Exported from France...	549,200	613,200
	<hr/> £947,600	<hr/> £863,200

Among the imports in 1885 the chief place was taken by sponges, raw hides, &c. ; among the exports, by dressed hides (£80,000), raw silk (£52,000), and wine (£72,000). A great part of the trade of Tunis is done by way of Algiers, to avoid the customs-duties.

In 1885, La Goletta, the harbour of Tunis, shared in the imports to the amount of £800,000, and contributed to the exports to the amount of £144,000. The movement of shipping in this harbour was represented by 4,088 vessels (with a tonnage of 125,986 tons on entering), 833 of which were French. The traffic between all the Tunisian ports and France (entrances and clearances combined) was carried on by 353 vessels, with a tonnage of 230,852 ; of these, 263, with a total of 210,674 tons, were French. By the mail steamers of the General Transatlantic Company, which call at eight Tunisian ports, La Goletta is 36 hours

from Marseilles. Tunis is connected with Algeria, and consequently with France, by two cables, besides the land telegraphs and the railway from Tunis to Duvivier, up the Medjerda valley.

Agriculture in general, and vine-growing in particular, are making rapid strides. The Tunisian vineyard is gradually being built up by French proprietors. Capitalists, who are assisted in their transactions by the application of the *Torrens Act** to the Tunisian land system, have no difficulty in finding remunerative investments. Borne on this ever-rising current, the young French colony must ere long go far to fulfil for the benefit of France the aspiration expressed by Sir Grenville Temple, when, on witnessing the fertility of the soil of Tunis he exclaimed: "If ever Tunis becomes an English colony, this country would once more become the granary of Europe." The establishment of the French protectorate, while it has destroyed for ever a separation which was not only artificial but unnatural, between two countries so closely joined by nature, has at the same time called forth a fruitful rivalry between Algeria and Tunis.

III. SENEGAL AND UPPER NIGER OR FRENCH SOUDAN.

The colony of Senegal and the French Soudan extends along the extreme western coast of Africa from Cape Blanco on the north, where the French bays of Lévrier and Arguin border on the recent settlements of Spain in those waters, to the British colony of Sierra Leone on the south. The coast follows a curved line of about 936 miles in length. Two little colonies, however—Gambia, belonging in its lower part to England, and Portuguese Guinea—interrupt

* This Australian law is a regular charter of landed property. The analogous legislation promulgated in Tunis has been well received by the natives. Stimulated by the example of Tunis, Algeria (which is "provided with less perfect economic instruments") has just finished the study of a scheme for the reform of the mortgage system, which is based on similar principles.

the French coast at two points, and are enclosed in that immense maritime territory, the principal river of which (the Senegal), and the most advanced projection (Cape Verde) are owned by France.

From north to south, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verde, the low sandy coast is only once broken at the point where the river Senegal finds its passage to the sea through the breach it has cut in the sands and over an ever-changing bar. This arid shore is nothing more or less than the Sahara which, in reality, only ends there, in face of the Atlantic, just as, on the north, it ends on the Mediterranean in the coast of Tripoli. But, south of the Senegal bar which shuts off the open sea from the river-harbour of Saint Louis (the capital of the colony), and beyond the projection of Cape Verde, whose peninsula forms the African Land's End, the coast of Africa, though still low, and bordered by a triple ridge of sand-banks, on which the Atlantic swell breaks unceasingly, is indented by the wide estuaries of no less than ten rivers descending from the interior. The constant drift of the sands upon the coast forms, however, at the entrance of each stream bars which vessels can only cross in fine weather, and under the guidance of experienced pilots.

These rivers—Casamance, Rio Nunez, Rio Pongo, Mellacoreia, &c.—which, to distinguish them from the Senegal river, are called the “Rivers of the South,” descend, in most cases, from the mountain ranges of the Fouta Djalon—the summits of which run parallel with the coast, and are only about 215 miles from the estuaries. From the Timbo mountains or from the Fouta Djalon, the Rivers of the South speed straight to the Atlantic westwards by the shortest road and the steepest slope; while from this same inland range, the two most important rivers of Western Africa, the Senegal and the Niger, gradually diverge, the one in a north-westerly, the other in a north-easterly direction.

The sources of these two rivers lie close together, but having once left the watershed, their streams diverge further and further, and in their course turn from one another in almost symmetrical curves. But the Senegal river, heading straight for the Atlantic, and following the seaward slope of the land, soon reaches the ocean below St. Louis. The Niger, on the other hand, in its early course runs in the direction of the central desert. The fall of the ground leads it further and further from the sea, till at length the great stream, after many a weary winding northwards, retraces and more than doubles the length of its course ere it reaches the Atlantic, and finds an outfall in the Gulf of Guinea. At the apex of this immense curve, and at some distance from the left or northern bank of the river, lies Timbuctoo. One thousand miles as the crow flies east of St. Louis is the present limit of the colony of Senegal and French Soudan, which, in the interior, includes the Fouta Djalon, the whole Senegal basin, and the whole basin of the Upper Niger as far as Timbuctoo. The famous René Caillié, in his journey to the mysterious city in 1827-1828, may be said to have traced the approximate limits to which, less than sixty years later, the influence of his country was to extend in the Western Soudan. Since René Caillié other explorers have penetrated into that part of the Soudan; but no traveller from the west has yet pushed on further in an easterly direction. A circumference drawn from Timbuctoo as centre with a radius of 1,060 miles—the same distance as that which separates Timbuctoo, in a straight line, from Cape Verde—exactly touches in its sweep, first, the coast of the Rivers of the South, and then the Guinea coast as far as the Cape of Palms, following closely all the time the regular curve formed by the coasts of Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. Freetown, in Sierra Leone, is half-way along this arc, and on the axis of the valley of the Upper Niger, that axis being represented by a straight line

drawn from Freetown to Timbuctoo. Beyond the Cape of Palms, and off the Ivory, Gold, and Slave coasts, the sea forms the circumference of the circle. It takes to the land again at the very mouth of the Niger, whence it makes its way to a point near Lake Tchad, in the heart of Africa; then to the Saharan oases of Kavar, Ghat, El Goléa, and Figuig (Algeria), north of the city of Morocco, and finally to the island peak of Teneriffe. Such is the immense region of which Timbuctoo is the geographical centre. For it is not a mere geometrical problem which we have been expounding. The two halves of the Niger above and below the city, one tending south-west and the other south-east—supplemented as they are on the north-west and the north-east by the “water-highways” and the caravan routes to Morocco, to Touat, and to Ghadamès on the further Desert-edge—radiate from the Black City, like natural roads opened for the interchange of commodities and ideas, towards every point of the horizon.

France possesses one of these roads, that along the Upper Niger. From the central establishment of Bammako, on the upper river, French gun-boats, built on the river-bank, ascend (since 1887) towards its source in the mountains in the direction of Sierra Leone—or else descend by Ségo-Sikoro as far as Kabara, the harbour of Timbuctoo. In order to establish French authority in this way on the huge watercourse of the western Soudan, all that was necessary was to gradually ascend the river Senegal, whose estuary on the coast it held, and whose upper basin carried it to the eastern mountain slope. From the posts and landing-stages echeloned on the stream above St. Louis (Richard Toll, Dagana, Podor, Saldé, Matam, Bakel, Kayes, Médine, Diamou, Bafoulabé, Badoumbé), or in its upper basin (Kita and Koundou), to the Niger at Bammako, there is only a single low ridge on the plateau to be crossed. The river is navigable as far as Kayes. From that point a rail-

way, 84 miles long, follows the stream to Bafoulabé, and from Bafoulabé there is a caravan-route to Bammako. The Senegal is thus the natural highway into the western Soudan. But in consequence of the difficulty of the bar, and the shallowness of the water, the river route has had to be supplemented by a line of railway 162 miles in length, which ends at the peninsula of Cape Verde. At that point Dakar, opposite to the fortified isle of Gorée, is now the sea-port of St. Louis and of the whole basin of the Senegal and Upper Niger. The happy situation of this sheltered deep-water harbour near the extremity of the West Coast of Africa makes it the necessary port of call for European vessels crossing the Atlantic to the harbours of Brazil and La Plata, as well as for those bound for the Gulf of Guinea and the Cape of Good Hope. Steamers of all nations, which pass within sight of Cape Verde, put in at Dakar for supplies of French and English coal.

This immense extension of the colony of Senegal, so long confined to a few settlements on the coast or on the lower river, dates only from 1856, at which period General Faidherbe, governor of the colony, overthrew the power of a black apostle of Islam, El Hadj Omar, who had besieged Médine. Nevertheless in 1878 the influence of France extended no further than Médine; in 1883 it reached the Niger and made itself felt at Bammako, where a fort has since been built. In 1887 a French gunboat descended the river as far as Timbuctoo. In 1888 the fort of Siguiri was built at a point higher up the stream than Bammako. France now possesses a flotilla on the Niger. The treaties concluded with Samory (sovereign of a native empire whose two capitals are Bissandougou and Samankoro, and which accepted the French protectorate in 1886) mark the furthest south-easterly advance which has been made in this region of the Soudan. This protectorate joins on Senegal to the French Guinea-Coast Settlements, and

reduces the British colony of Sierra Leone and the negro republic of Liberia to mere insertions on the coast, without any great extension inland.

Within these undefined limits, which are capable of extension in every direction inland, the colony is composed of different countries, widely dissimilar to one another. Its population is also a mixture of Mahometans, heathen Moors, negroes, and Mahometan negroes—all differing in language, race, manners, and colour and aspect. Nature there is still in its primitive disorder. First, we find a long stretch of low and marshy coast, under water during the rainy season, and fertilised by the mud deposited by the flood water. This is succeeded by level steppes and sandy deserts, which in their turn give way to wooded tracts, the lovely mountains and green highlands of Fouta Djalon. Then comes a desolate and melancholy region (between the Senegal and Gambia rivers), clothed with scanty grass and stunted shrubs, as unlike as possible to the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics; then once more fertile land, whose produce is exchanged at the river stations for European goods; and, lastly, in the “Rivers of the South,” a brilliant verdure everywhere supreme, a vigorous and truly tropical vegetation.

The chief rivers which have their outlets on the coast between Cape Verde and Sierra Leone are—the Saloum, the Gambia, the Casamanca, the Cacheo or San Domingo, the Geba, the Rio Grande, the Cassini, the Componi, the Rio Nunez, the Rio Pongo, the Dubreka, the Mellacorea, and the two Scarcias. Some of these estuaries are connected by watercourses which run parallel with the coast. *British Gambia*, which lies within this district, comprises the Lower Gambia river, with 14,150 inhabitants and a territory of only 69 square miles, while Portuguese Guinea includes the San Domingo or Cacheo, the Geba, the lower Rio Grande, and the Cassini rivers.

The French territory under direct administration is

composed of Senegal and the Rivers of the South. The capital of the Rivers of the South is Benty, on the Mella-corea. It is the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, who is under the orders of the Governor of Senegal. Senegal itself is divided into two arrondissements. The first comprises the communes or urban districts of St. Louis, Richard Toll, Dagana, Podor, Saldé, Bakel, Médine, the Upper River, and the suburbs of St. Louis; and the rural circumscriptions of Walo, Dagana, Podor, Saldé, Matam, Bakel, and Aéré. The second arrondissement comprises the communes or urban districts of Gorée, Dakar, Rufisque, Thiés, Pout, Portudal, Joal, Kaolack, and the suburbs of Dakar; and the rural circumscriptions of M'Bidjem, Thiés, Pout, Rufisque, Tiaroye, Cape Verde, &c. There are only four communes in the colony which are administered by a municipal council—St. Louis, Gorée, Dakar, and Rufisque—and these are also the chief ports and markets. The export trade is chiefly in ground-nuts, gums, india-rubber, dress feathers, birds, ox-hides, wax, ivory, sesame, and palm-oil and palm-nuts.

In 1884 the total value of the trade exceeded two million pounds:—Imports, £1,120,000 (piece goods, £381,600; liquors, £122,640; bread-stuffs, £108,000). Exports from Senegal, £724,800 (fruits and grains, £400,000; vegetable saps, £133,320). Exports from Rivers of the South, £148,000 (india-rubber, ground-nuts, palm-nuts and palm-oil, skins, copal gum).

The rich gold mines of the colony are as yet unworked. French schools have been opened in the following stations on the Upper Senegal:—Bakel, Kayes, Bafoulabé, Kita, and at Bammako on the Niger.

The FRENCH GUINEA-COAST SETTLEMENTS, situated on the Gulf of Guinea, between the Cape of Palms and the mouths of the Niger, form a dependency of the colony of Senegal. They are composed of three coast districts

without definite boundaries inland. These are, in order from west to east :

1.—On the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, the whole of the littoral between the black Republic of Liberia and the English colony of the Gold Coast—a distance of more than 310 miles—along with the great sea-lagoon of *Grand Bassam* and *Dabou* (90 miles long) and the lagoon of *Assinie* (which is formed by the combination of the two lakes of *Aby* and *Eï* or *Tendo*), 46 miles long. These coast lagoons run parallel to the shore, behind a thin tongue of land, broken at one point by the bar at the mouth of the lagoon. Some small rivers have their outlet on this coast—the *San Pedro*, the *St. André*, the *Rio Fresco* ; while others flow into the lagoons, as the *Lahou*, for instance, into the little lagoon of *Lahou* ; the *Aébi* into *Dabou* ; the *Akba*, or *Comoé*, into the lagoon of *Grand Bassam* ; the river of *Bia* into the lake of *Aby* ; the *Tanoué* into the lake of *Eï* or *Tendo*. The whole country is flat, and the interior unexplored. The warehouses and factories of the merchants are grouped around the lagoons.

2.—Between the little German territory of *Togo* (*Lomé*, *Bageida*, *Porto Seguro*, and *Little Popo*) and the coast of the negro kingdom of *Dahomey*, lies the French coast of *Great Popo*, with the establishments of *Agoué* and *La Baranquière*, on a small lagoon.

3.—Between the coast of *Dahomey* and the English colony of *Lagos*, and, like the preceding, on the *Slave Coast*, France owns the littoral of *Kotonou* and *Porto Novo*, and protects the native kingdom of *Porto Novo*, which extends round the great lagoon of that name and into the interior. The town of *Porto Novo* has 20,000 inhabitants ; the whole kingdom, 150,000. In 1884 the total value of the trade at this point was over £360,000. Imports, £160,000 (gin and rum-arrack, £140,000) ; the French share being £40,000, and the foreign £120,000. Exports, £200,000

(palm-oil and palm-nuts ; French share £66,400, foreign £135,600). The shipping-figures were—90 vessels (12,500 tonnage) entered, and 88 vessels (19,050 tonnage) cleared. Four small German steamers of 150 to 200 tons did the service between Porto Novo and Lagos.

IV. GABOON AND FRENCH CONGO.

The colony of Gaboon and the French Congo extends beneath the equator from the Bay of Biafra, the extremity of the Gulf of Guinea, where it is bounded on the north by the German possessions of the Cameroons, to the right bank of the Congo, which belongs to France for a distance of about 470 miles to the south-east (from the fall of Ntombo-Mataca, a point above Manyanga, on the lower river, to the confluence of the Oubanghi on the upper river). The northern boundary, as settled by the Franco-German Convention of December, 1885, is, first, the river Campo, and then a parallel of latitude (from 7° 40' east of Paris to 12° 40' east of Paris). This imaginary boundary crosses a region as yet unexplored. The most southern point of the French coast is the estuary of Massabi (at 750 miles from the river Campo), which is divided between France and the little Portuguese territory of Landana and Cabinda. This portion of the frontier was settled by the Convention with Portugal in May, 1886, and by that with the Congo Free State of February, 1885. Thence the boundary runs into the interior, following first the ridge between the river-basins, next the river Chiloango, which separates French territory from the Congo State; then takes to the hills, and finally descends upon the Congo above Manyanga, at the point we have already mentioned. From this point the Congo flows between French territory and the Free State, Stanley Pool and the broad stream of the river being divided between the two States. Further up stream, and on the east, the

Oubanghi, a tributary of the Congo, whose lower course only is at present known, marks the boundary according to the convention of April, 1887. On the north-east the French Congo has as yet no limits.

On the northern part of the Gaboon coast a small Spanish settlement lies within the limits of the French territory. Its boundaries have not yet been determined by a treaty between the two countries.

The frontier rivers of the Congo and the Oubanghi are by far the most important water-ways of this vast territory. The Congo is like an inland sea in the heart of the African continent, and the Oubanghi, a huge tributary falling in on the right bank of the great stream, is itself so large a river that a basin of vast extent has been assigned to it. It is believed that its most distant sources are close to the Upper Nile, and that the Oubanghi can be no other than the Welle, the river which runs up to the borders of the Egyptian Soudan. Little has been done as yet to throw light upon the problem, but the solution will not be long delayed. Whatever future discoveries may reveal, the Oubanghi basin—north of 4° north latitude—will be divided between France (right bank) and the Congo State (left bank).

France obtained a footing on this territory when she occupied the magnificent estuary of the Gaboon, one of the finest natural harbours in the world, and all the more valuable from its situation on this harbourless West African coast. The Gaboon, which is situated almost exactly in the equator, forms an estuary similar in extent to the Gironde, but deeper. The chief town of the colony, Libreville, is on the northern bank, not far from the entrance of the estuary.

This estuary was the cradle of the colony. The history of its establishment is as follows:—Two rivers (the Como and the Remboé) meet, as do the rivers of the Gironde, within the estuary. Unfortunately these were but short

watercourses, two *culs-de-sac*, which were soon barred by the mountains of the interior as by a wall. These mountains, which came very close to the coast and ran parallel to the shore, left no room for a great river-valley. At all costs it was necessary to get out of this *cul-de-sac* in order to find some waterway to the interior. What was wanted was a Garonne, and the Ogouwe was destined to supply it.

The Ogouwe, south of the Gaboon estuary, is a river which is navigable in the lower part of its course, and which forms at its mouth a wide marshy delta, in the midst of which projects Cape Lopez. To discover the delta, which was masked by wooded islands, and hidden amid a labyrinth of lagoons and "false rivers," to ascend that unknown stream, to surmount in succession the rapids and cataracts formed by the ledges of the Central African Plateau, to reach its sources on this plateau, and then, crossing the ridge encircling its basin, to descend upon the mighty Congo—to do all that was the work accomplished in a few short years by a handful of gallant fellows, of whom the most illustrious was Savorgnan de Brazza.

A brilliant and un hoped-for triumph crowned their efforts, when they arrived at length on the shores of the Inland Sea of the mysterious continent. Stanley at the same moment was discovering the Great River from the East, and descending its cataracts to the sea.

At the present time there is a series of stations on the Ogouwe, succeeding one another up stream, from Ndolé, the terminus of tidal navigation, to Franceville, in the very heart of the French possessions. Other stations maintain connection with the Congo by the tributaries of its right bank, chiefly by the river Alima, which is navigated without difficulty by steamers for a distance of 310 miles. Others command the internal frontier of the colony along the river bank. Of these the chief is Brazzaville, on Stanley Pool,

the point where the inland navigation of the Congo stops short in face of the impassable cataracts of the lower river which completely isolate it from the sea. Others, like Loango, protect the frontier formed by the coast line.

The following rivers flow into the ocean in the following order from north to south :—The Campo, the estuary of which forms portion of the frontier ; the Eyo or Benito ; the Mouni, part of whose basin is Spanish territory ; the Mounda ; the Gaboon, the Ogouwe, and the Fernand-Vaz ; the Nyanga ; the Niadi or Niari-Quillou, whose valley offers the shortest route between the coast and the Pool, from Loango to Brazzaville ; and lastly the Loama. Already a caravan-route goes through French territory from Loango, one of the safest harbours on the coast, to Brazzaville, and steam-launches circulate on the river, collecting ivory and india-rubber.

Precise data on the population and trade of this vast territory do not exist. We must confine ourselves to a few figures of comparatively slight interest, referring only to the Gaboon estuary properly so called, and to its adjoining coasts.

In 1884 the European population was still only 205 (130 French, 27 English, 25 Germans, 19 Americans, &c.). It consisted of officials, Catholic priests, nuns, American Presbyterian missionaries, and traders, 18 of whom were the heads or managers of firms. There were also 250 European soldiers and sailors belonging to the local station. The colony is still in its infancy, and consequently agriculture on any considerable scale cannot exist. The natives never think of cultivating the land for the purpose of selling the produce, and have till now confined themselves to the production of the produce strictly needed for their own consumption.

In 1884 the total trade reached a value of £370,400. Imports, £168,000 (liquors, guns and powder, cotton

cloths, glass beads, &c.) ; exports, £200,000 (sandal or red wood, ebony, india-rubber, palm oil, palm nuts, and ivory).

V. MADAGASCAR AND ISLANDS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN.

After having long limited her dominion to a few islands and islets off Madagascar, France has now (by the Treaty of Dec. 17, 1885) brought under her sway that small continent of the Indian Ocean, one of the largest islands in the world. In superficies it is the fourth, coming after Australia, New Guinea, and Borneo ; but it has the largest population of the four. Madagascar lies at a distance of less than 250 miles from the Portuguese coast of Mozambique. With its dependent islands it forms a compact and self-contained group. In this group Mauritius (formerly known as *Île de France*), the Seychelles and Amirantes, all ancient possessions of France, whose inhabitants still speak French, belong to England, the rest to France. A Resident-Superior represents the protectorate of France at the Court of the Queen of the Hovas in her capital of Antananarivo, in the central province of Imerina, on the High Plateaus of the interior. Other Residents have been established in the chief ports on both coasts—at Tamatave, on the east ; and at Majunga, on the north-west. Tulear or Toliara is also an important port on the south-western coast. In the far north, near Cape Amber, the northern extremity of the island, lies the splendid bay of Diego-Suarez. The harbour opens to the east ; and ramifies inside the mouth into three secondary bays. Both the harbour itself and the adjoining territory are the absolute property of France. In the British Admiralty charts this splendid group of natural havens, so admirably adapted for a first-class naval establishment, is laid down under the name of “British Sound,” and the secondary basins under the name of “English Bay,” “Irish Bay,” “Welsh Pool,” and “Scotch Bay.” Complete though it be, this nomenclature has never been

legitimised by any positive fact, and it might just as well be used to designate the bays of the moon.

Madagascar is 1,000 miles in length from Cape Amber on the north to Cape Sainte Marie on the south, and has a maximum width of 350 miles between Tamatave on the east and Cape St. André on the west. Its area is equal to that of continental France with Belgium and Switzerland thrown in. Its shape, like that of the Africa on which it borders, is compact and heavy. In point of physical conformation also it is a miniature Africa, with its high inland plateau, and its mountains, rising above low and marshy coast-lands to a maximum height of 8,500 feet. Its coast, which is pitted with lagoons, is unbroken on the east except by Antongil Bay, while on the north-west it is carved into slender peninsulas and numerous bays. It is only on this stretch of coast line from Cape St. André to Cape Amber that any variety of outline is to be found: elsewhere everything which may break the featureless monotony seems to have withdrawn inland to the High Plateaus, where a safe hiding-place and complete isolation from the outer world are to be found. The rivers are few and generally short, and open out no natural water-ways. On the north-western Sakalava coast, however, the aspect of the island, which everywhere else is somewhat forbidding, becomes hospitable; and it is on this coast, at the end of Majunga Bay, that the principal river, Ikopa, finds its way into the sea. It descends from the plateau of Imerina, from the culminating ranges of interior, and from Antananarivo. Antananarivo itself is 4,600 feet above the sea. The journey from Tamatave takes eight to ten days, or sixty-six hours' actual travelling in *filanzana*.

Réunion lies 375 miles south-east-by-east from Tamatave, and 125 miles west-south-west from Mauritius; Sainte Marie is just off the eastern coast, between Tamatave and Antongil Bay; Mayotte and the rest of the Comoro Group—Anjouan,

Mohéli, and the Great Comoro—are situated in the Mozambique Channel, 175 miles from the north-west coast ; while Nossi Bé, Nossi Mitsiou, Nossi Fali, Nossi Lava, Nossi Coumba, and the scattered islets of Aldabra, Cosmoledo, Assumption, Gloriosa, &c.), lie to the north-west of the island's northern point. All these islands are mere satellites of the "Great Land," and most of them are under the direct rule of France.

By far the most important is Réunion, which in its Piton des Neiges (10,068 ft.) reaches a greater elevation than the great Madagascar. All the Comoro islands are also mountainous, their altitude varying from 1,900 to 8,690 ft. The volcano of the Great Comoro is also higher than any point in Madagascar. Réunion also surpasses all the other islands in area, wealth, and population. Its capital, St. Denis, is connected by rail with its artificial harbour (26 feet deep) at the Pointe des Galets. The whole island is divided into seventeen communes. In 1884 the total population (170,369) included 46,131 immigrants (Indians or Africans), and 59,618 labourers directly employed in field-work. Réunion is one of the French sugar-producing islands. It cultivates chiefly the sugar-cane (61,664 acres), coffee, vanilla, tobacco, embrevade, cocoa, cloves and other spices. The total value of its products exceeds £892,000 gross, and £420,000 net, £248,000 of which is for sugar alone. Its total commerce in 1884 reached the value of £1,745,480, £560,000 of which represented its trade with France.

The imports amounted to £1,040,000 (of which bread-stuffs represented £266,000 ; piece-goods, £113,600 ; liquors, £96,000). The exports were £704,000 (colonial provisions, £600,000).

Sainte Marie, with 7,484 inhabitants (Malagasy, Mozambique Africans, or Creoles), produces rice, cloves, the cocoa-palm, the cocoa-plant, the sugar-cane, &c. The

value of its trade is under £40,000. This island is important as a coaling station; and the roadstead which it forms with the coast of Madagascar affords a good anchorage.

Mayotte, with 9,736 inhabitants (216 whites, 6,420 natives, 3,100 immigrants), grows sugar-cane, tobacco, and rice. The value of its trade is nearly £80,000. Imports, £36,000 (coal, £12,000); exports, £40,000 (sugar, £38,000).

Nossi Bé, with 12,411 inhabitants (1,600 immigrants), who are distributed among five quarters, of which Hellville is the chief town, also devotes itself largely to the cultivation of sugar-cane and rice; but its chief trade is with Madagascar. In 1884 its trade was £216,000. Imports, £108,000 (coal, ox-hides, india-rubber, rice, live oxen); exports, £108,000 (sugar, leather, india-rubber, live oxen).

South-east of Madagascar, out away beyond the Indian Ocean, and not far from the South Arctic Ocean, lies the fiord-indented archipelago of *Kerguelen* (49° south latitude, 67° east of Paris), and the islands of *St. Paul* and *New Amsterdam* to the north-north-east of the archipelago. These are uninhabited spots which have served as temporary halting-places for navigators and scientific expeditions. They are about half-way between the Cape of Good Hope and Australia.

VI. OBOCK.

Obock, which is situated at the end of the Gulf of Aden, and on the African side of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, is a colony with a commercial future. It guards the southern entrance of the Red Sea, serves as outlet for the Shoa and the Galla country on the mainland behind it, and is a coaling station of paramount importance on the road to India. During the greater part of the Tonquin expedition and the war in the Chinese seas, the French fleet was dependent upon Aden, and its necessary supplies of coal

and provisions could either be granted or refused by England, according to the caprices of her humour.

Thanks to the coal-stores of Obock, the fleet is now freed from this precarious situation.

England has recognised the rights of France over the adjoining territory, which is bounded on the north by the Italian colony of Assab, and which spreads round the circumference of the Tadjoura Bay, the inmost inlet of the Gulf of Aden. The islands of Mucha, in the middle of the bay, also belong to France. South of the bay, Cape Djiboutih is the French boundary, and from that point the frontier, as fixed by the Anglo-French Convention of May, 1887, is drawn south in the direction of Harrar, and then westwards to the Shoa country.

VII. FRENCH INDIA, AND INDO-CHINA.

FRENCH INDIA, since its reduction by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, is composed of isolated fractions of territory enclosed on all sides by the English possessions. The existing French settlements are :—1. On the coast of Coromandel, Pondicherry and its territory (composed of the communes of Pondicherry, Villenour, Oulgaret, and Bahour); and Karikal with the maganons depending on it, divided into three communes. 2. On the coast of Orissa, Yanaon, with its territory, and the aldées or villages depending on it, and the factory (*loge*) of Mazulipatam. 3. On the coast of Malabar, Mahé and its territory, and the factory of Calicut. 4. North of Bombay, the factory of Surat. 5. In Bengal, Chandernagor and its territory, and the factories of Cossimbazar, Jaugdia, Dacca, Balasar, and Patna.

Pondicherry, the capital, communicates with the Indian railway system by the line which connects it with Madras. The deep water works projected at the mouth of the Ariancoupom river will make this port the principal commercial emporium of all India. It will be the only point

on the whole coast of the Gulf of Bengal where goods can be shipped at the quay, and in all weathers. The execution of these works may give paramount importance to Pondicherry, and be equivalent to the commercial conquest of the south of the peninsula. In its present condition the roadstead of Pondicherry offers the best anchorage on the coast after that of Cocanada. There is an excellent supply of water, access is easy, provisions are cheap, and the sea almost always fine and calm. Pondicherry has had the singular privilege of not being visited by a cyclone since 1841; it is never touched by more than the outer and milder circle of these atmospheric phenomena.

In 1884 the total population of French India (286,864) was distributed as follows :—

	Inhabitants.	Square miles.
Pondicherry and its districts	149,914	244
Chandernagore	32,717	7
Karikal	91,487	113
Mahé	8,388	49
Yanaon	4,358	12
Total	286,864	425

In this total there are about 950 Frenchmen natives of France, and 1,800 Eurasians descended from Frenchmen.

The principal crops are rice, small grains, cocoa, indigo, oleaginous grains, and pepper.

The total trade, almost the whole of which was done by Pondicherry and Karikal, amounted to £1,370,420. Imports, £372,000 (piece-goods and ribbons, wines, Indian guineas).^{*} Exports, £1,000,000 (ground-nuts, Touloucouna nuts, £296,000; Indian guineas, £88,000).

FRENCH INDO-CHINA (consisting of Lower Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin) lies between the Gulf of Siam, the Chinese Sea, and the Gulf of Tonquin. Its area

^{*} Blue cotton cloths.

is more than equal to that of France. The extent of its inland territory is still undetermined. Towards China on the north, and Siam on the south-west, there is the semblance of a treaty frontier ; but to the west no limit exists on the side of Laos or the valley of the Mekong, among the still savage and independent tribes.

Cambodia is the lower basin of the Indo-Chinese Nile ; its delta is Lower Cochin-China. Annam, on the contrary, turns its back upon the river's middle valley, and extends in a maritime zone on the outer counter-slope of its basin. It remains foreign to the life of the great river-artery which flows behind it in a curving line parallel to the coast, and from which it is separated by a high chain of peaks or plateaus. On the other side of the mountain, however, Annamite Laos descends upon the Mekong in a more or less gentle slope. In the extreme north of this region, the valley of the Red River, in Tonquin, is the shortest route between the southern provinces of China and the sea.

At the present time vessels drawing less than nine feet of water can ascend the Mekong above Lower Cochin-China and Cambodia into Laos, where for the present they are stopped by the cataracts of Khon. The course of the river has recently (1887) been cleared of all the obstacles which, below this point, formed rapids and impeded navigation. But whatever may be achieved in the way of blasting a passage through the rapids above this point, the navigation of the Mekong will remain of slight value for any purpose save that of transporting the products of its own middle valley, and of opening Laos to European trade. The upper course of the river is tortuous ; its windings, which resemble those of the Nile between Assouan and Khartoum, double the distance to be traversed. The great bends of the Mekong recall the Nile at Dongola and Berber ; and like the Nile, which at Berber comes close to the coasts of the Red Sea, the Mekong at Louang-Prabang comes so close to

the Gulf of Tonquin that it is a perfectly practicable journey from the gulf to the valley of the upper river.

But it is the position of Tonquin which is specially advantageous. Lying, as it does, on a great inlet of the Chinese sea, it is the starting-point of the natural approaches to those rich provinces of Southern China which lie isolated in their mountains, and which on any other side are so distant from the ocean highways. Behind the gulf, where the harbour of Yunnan is already marked out by the configuration of the coasts, the delta of the Red River opens out like a funnel, and its low muddy shore seems a continuation of the sea. The mountain ridges which border it gradually narrow in upon the wide plain, which is intersected by the ramifications of the river. Between Hanoi and Sontay the knot of the delta is drawn tight, and the veined network of the waterway is contracted into a single channel. The river is not, however, sufficiently deep in its upper course to admit of vessels ascending in all seasons to the Yunnan frontier, and its navigation is only possible during the period when the river is in flood. But a railway along the banks is destined ere long to take advantage of the valley, and the river, supplemented by the railway, will thus become the passage by which trade will go. Fertile though it be, Tonquin thus owes to its geographical position an importance far in excess of that which its own territorial advantages confer. Before all things it should be looked upon as the vestibule of Southern China and the gate of Yunnan. As the crow flies, the capital of Yunnan is only 436 miles from the coast of the delta, and the Red River with its straight and deep-cut channel lies on the most direct line of communication between the Chinese city and the sea. Westward, on the contrary, in the direction of the Gulf of Bengal and the Burmese coasts, which lie about 700 miles in a straight line from this same capital of Yunnan, are chains of mountains running parallel to the sea, which interpose their

serried folds like so many walls. The gate of Southern China upon Burmah and India has thus the appearance of being defended by a series of ramparts.

Another railway must shortly connect the delta with Langson, and the Chinese province of Kwangsi with Tonquin. The trade-centre, Hanoi, the capital of the country, will be connected by railway with Hongac, or Port Courbet, a splendid natural deep-water harbour, which is sheltered on every side, and situated on the northern coast of the delta in the inmost recess of Along Bay. Other cities of the delta—*e.g.*, Namdinh—are busy and populous. Huë, the capital of Annam; Pnom-penh, the capital of Cambodia, the latter so happily placed at the parting of the Four Arms of the Mekong at the head of the delta; various localities in the neighbourhood of the bays which break the Annam coast and provide good anchorage for ships; Saïgon, the capital of the colony of Lower Cochin-China and an invaluable arsenal, lying on a deep river navigable by the largest vessels, and furnished with a splendid graving-dock nearly 550 feet long; and Mytho on the Cua Tieu, that northern arm of the delta, and deepest of the mouths of the Mekong—all these are trading-centres whose prosperity is constantly increasing.

Trustworthy statistics exist only in the case of Cochin-China, which in 1884 had 1,698,041 inhabitants. This population is distributed among twenty-four communes, or districts, of which one—that of Poulo-Condor—is an island. Out of the total population, 3,557 were born in France; there were 1,284 French officials with their families, and 2,071 soldiers of the garrison. 3,861 Europeans of all nationalities (French included), numbered 57,061 subjects of foreign States, 1,637,119 French subjects. Excluding the troops in garrison, the population was divided into the following nationalities:—

Frenchmen of European origin	...	1,638
Other Europeans	... ..	152
Annamites	... ..	1,518,917
Cambodians	... ..	107,684
Chams (natives of Cochinchina)	...	2,048
Chinese	... ..	51,979
Foreign Indians	... ..	672
French Indians	... ..	332
Malays	... ..	5,084
Mois (savages — natives of Cochinchina)	... ..	7,419
Tagals (natives of the Spanish Philippines)	... ..	32
Africans (1), Arabs (8), Bengalese (2), Japanese (2)	... ..	13
		<hr/>
		1,695,970
Garrison	... ..	2,071
		<hr/>
		1,698,041

The chief products of the soil, besides the rice-fields, which cover 1,533,096 acres, are areca-palms, coco-palms, ground-nuts, sugar-cane, tobacco, pine-apples, and betel. Everywhere throughout the country the bamboo lines the roads or grows in small clumps. 387,420 labourers are employed in field work on the plantations; thirty labourers as a rule are reckoned to 247 acres (100 hectares). The cultivation of the cocoa-plant, the coffee-plant, and the vanilla-plant has been recently introduced, and the rapid development in their production offers a brilliant prospect for the future. In 1884 the total trade reached a value of £6,494,560. Imports, £3,488,000; exports, £3,004,000 (chiefly rice).

VIII. FRENCH POLYNESIA.

The French colonies in Oceania are grouped around New Caledonia in the west, and Tahiti in the east of the Pacific Ocean. About half-way between these two groups emerges the little Wallis and Fotuna Archipelago.

NEW CALEDONIA is surrounded by the territories which comprise British Australasia, *i.e.*, Australia to the west, New Zealand to the south-south-east, Fiji to the east-north-east, New Guinea to the north-west), and by German territory (New Guinea, the Bismarck archipelago, formerly called New Britain, and the Salomon Islands on the north-west). Planted in the middle of this foreign world, equidistant from Fiji and Australia on the one hand, and from New Guinea and New Zealand on the other, lies New Caledonia. Its area is 14,141 square miles; or including the Loyalty Group and the Isle of Pines, 16,576 square miles, barely twice the size of Corsica. It has no immediate neighbours but the archipelago of the New Hebrides on the north-east. This latter, in spite of its twenty-four islands, or groups of islands, and even if we include the Santa Cruz group (in all 12,066 square miles), would, if annexed to New Caledonia, of which it is a geographical dependency, only form a scattered and fragmentary territory of a total area equal to that of Holland. Port Havannah and Port Sandwich, two points which France had provisionally occupied in this archipelago since June, 1886, have been evacuated in accordance with the Anglo-French Convention of October, 1887. The Convention places the archipelago under the supervision of an Anglo-French Naval Commission, which is entrusted with the protection of the subjects of both Powers.

Though reduced to these limited proportions, and enclosed within its girdle of coral reefs, New Caledonia nevertheless acquires a great importance from its proximity to the Australian continent; from its port of Nouméa, the capital of the colony; and from its mines. Moreover, it is one of the places to which France transports her criminals, and where she permanently settles her recidivists.* In 1884 the population of New Caledonia consisted of 59,026 inhabitants thus composed:—

* See Chapter VII., p. 210.

French	3,525
Foreigners... ..	640
Troops	2,158
Warders (and their families) ...	857
Released convicts... ..	3,545
Convicts serving their time ...	7,551
Natives	40,750

The island grows sugar-cane, coffee, rice, maize, &c. Its total trade in that year amounted to £652,000. Imports, £400,000 ; exports, £252,000.

The principal articles of export were—nickel and cobalt, mother-of-pearl and ox-hides. The land granted in mining concessions covers a total area of 33,918 acres. In 1884 the production was :—

	Tons.	Metal per ton.
Nickel (Thio mines) ...	13,448 ...	8 to 12 per cent.
Cobalt	5,217 ...	2 to 4·7 „
Copper	2,430 ...	16 „
Chrome	3,320 ...	50 „
Antimony	880 ...	24 to 50 „
Gold (Fern Hill mines)	550	

8,162 tons of the nickel produced were smelted at Nouméa, and metal, of a total value of £136,000, was sent to London. The rest of the nickel ore was exported to Antwerp, Swansea, and Hamburg. The cobalt, after smelting, was sent to Glasgow ; the copper ore to Australia ; the chrome to Glasgow, &c. One thousand three hundred men, of whom a third are blacks, are employed at the mines. The valley of the Diahot river has deposits of argentiferous lead ; and at several different points of the island coal-deposits of sixteen to twenty feet in thickness occur.

TAHITI and the other Society Islands,* the Marquesas,

* The Leeward Islands of Tahiti did not come under the direct rule of France till 1887 ; but the French flag had been hoisted on the principal island—Raïata—ever since 1878.

the Tuamotu archipelago, the Gambier Islands, the Tubuai archipelago, together form a vast Polynesia Minor, either mountainous (like the Marquesas, the Society Islands, the Gambier Islands, and Tubuai) or consisting of atolls (like the Tuamotu islands),—mere rings of land just showing above water around a central lagoon. The two islands soldered together which form Tahiti are surmounted by two cones, the one 7,338, the other 4,323 feet in height. Rapa, the highest of the Tubuai group, is 2,165 feet; Mangareva, in the Gambier Islands, 1,246 feet; and Hiva-Oa, in the Marquesas, as much as 4,133 feet high. The Residency in this latter group is at Taïohaé (island of Nukahiva); while Papeïti, in Tahiti, is the capital of all the French settlements in eastern Oceania. The pearl-fisheries give importance to the low islands (Tuamotu); the rest, such as Rapa in the extreme south, have fine roadsteads and offer good anchorage. Their situation on the route from Panama to Australasia makes them naval stations of paramount importance. Northwards, eastwards, and southwards, as far as the distant shores of America, stretches the great ocean-desert. There, on its eastern side, ends Polynesia, with Tahiti guarding its eastern corner. Taken together these islands cover an area of 3,603 square miles, or rather less than half that of Corsica. The population in 1882-84 was 25,130; of this total, 1,606 were whites (991 French), in the islands of Tahiti, Moorea, Tubuai, and Raivavaé, and 447 Chinese. The white population for the other islands is not given.

Tahiti and the other small Polynesian islands produce the coco-palm, cotton, sugar-cane, coffee, vanilla, tobacco, Indian corn, bread-fruit, sweet potatoes, yams, &c. The orange-tree grows wild. In 1884 the total trade reached £378,400. Imports, £200,000 (£180,000 from foreign countries); exports, £176,000 (£168,000 to foreign countries).

IX. NEWFOUNDLAND BANKS, THE ANTILLES, AND GUIANA.

The little islands of ST. PIERRE and MIQUELON owe all their importance to the cod-fishery on the Newfoundland Banks. The 5,765 inhabitants who constitute the population (both sedentary and floating), and most of whom live in the town of St. Pierre, the capital of the colony, form a modest total by the side of the figures of the trade of 1884. Imports, £507,680; exports, £665,560: total, £1,173,240 (£680,000 of which was with France and French colonies).

The FRENCH ANTILLES—*i.e.*, Martinique, and Guadeloupe with its dependencies—are, like the other islands of the group, the summits of a chain of volcanoes emerging above the ocean. The extinct crater which forms the island of Martinique rises to a height of 4,429 feet, and is crowned by a lake 500 feet in circumference. Guadeloupe is composed of two islands linked together, and one of these—the Grande Terre—is, in comparison with the other, which is nearly 5,000 feet in height, a low plain. In Martinique the capital (Fort de France) is less important than St. Pierre, the latter being the true commercial centre, and the former only the administrative one. In the same way, in Guadeloupe the chief town is Pointe-à-Pitre, which has more inhabitants than its capital, Basse-Terre. These islands, whose natural roadsteads are exceptionally sheltered and secure, are stations of the first importance on the Panama route.

Martinique (167,679 inhabitants in 1884), is divided into twenty-five communes (St. Pierre, 23,166 inhabitants; Fort de France, 14,801), and grows sugar-cane (67,804 acres), cocoa, coffee, &c. It produces 49,210 tons of sugar, of a total value exceeding £440,000 5,502,420 gallons of ratafia, of a net value of £192,000 &c. Its total trade

amounts to more than £2,160,000 (£1,180,000 of which is with France and French colonies).

Imports, £1,120,000 (bread stuffs, £160,000; liquors, £80,000; piece-goods, £128,000; fish and animals, £200,000). Exports, £1,040,000 (colonial provisions, £720,000; liquors, £280,000).

Guadeloupe and its dependencies (200,321 inhabitants, including the islands of Marie-Galante, Désirade, Îles Saintes, St. Martin, and St. Barthélemy) are divided into thirty-four communes (Pointe-à-Pitre, 17,075; Basse-Terre, 9,897 inhabitants). There is a coolie population of 22,694 (Indians, Africans, or Chinese). Guadeloupe grows sugar-cane (63,552 acres), coffee, manioc, arnatto, &c.; and produces 56,100 tons of sugar, and more than 1,980,870 gallons of ratafia, syrups, and molasses, of a total net value of £600,000. The colony possesses 60,406 animals. The total trade is £2,096,000 (£1,180,000 of which is with France and French colonies).

Imports, £1,016,000 (bread stuffs, £200,000; fish and animals, £200,000; liquors, £72,000; piece-goods, £60,000). Exports, £1,080,000 (colonial provisions, £984,000).

From 1880 to 1884 the sugar-colonies (which, arranged according to the importance of their production, are Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, and, at a long interval, Mayotte and Nossi Bé) exported 659,418 tons of sugar (402,540 tons to France or French colonies, 256,878 tons abroad).

FRENCH GUIANA has no definite boundaries, except on the Lower Maroni, which separates it from Dutch Guiana. On the upper river Holland and France have not yet come to an agreement as to which of the two branches of the stream should mark the common frontier. The total population (39,647 in 1884) is distributed among eleven communes, the capital being Cayenne. The total trade is

£572,000. Imports, £340,000; exports, £232,000 (metals £224,000.)

The gold-bearing deposits of the colony produced in 1882, 3,434lb. of gold, representing a value of £200,000. Guiana and New Caledonia are the only French colonies where mineral workings have been set on foot.*

CLIPPERTON is merely a circular reef round a central lagoon, which is accessible by two openings. This lonely islet, lost in the immensity of the Pacific, is about 680 miles from the nearest point of the coast of Mexico.

Note.—For legislative purposes, French colonies are divided into two categories:—1. Those which are governed in regard to their organic legislation by the law, supplemented by administrative decrees which have been submitted to the Council of State. These are Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion. 2. Those which are governed by simple decree.

From the point of view of their internal organisation they may be classified as follows: 1. Colonies which send up representatives (deputies and senators, or deputies alone) elected by universal suffrage by the French citizens of the colony to the French legislative Chambers, or to the Chamber of Deputies alone, and which have been given representative institutions (Councils-General) by which questions of local taxation are settled. These are Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion, Guiana, Senegal, India, Cochinchina. Military command and the supreme administration are entrusted to a Governor, assisted by a Privy Council. Under his orders heads of administrative departments direct the different services (Interior, Law Courts, Administration, Education, Health). The Councils-General are invested with attributions almost identical with, but somewhat wider than those of Councils-General in France. 2. Colonies which are not represented in the French Parliament. These are St. Pierre and Miquelon, New Caledonia, Tahiti and its dependencies (designated for administrative purposes by the title of "French Settlements in Oceania"), Mayotte, Nossi Bé, Diego-Suarez, Gaboon, and French Congo, &c. St. Pierre and Miquelon, New Caledonia, and Tahiti possess Councils-General; in the other colonies of this group (which do not possess them) questions of taxation are settled by the Governor, assisted by an administrative Council.

* For the penitentiary population of Guiana, see Chapter VII., p. 210.

Lastly, from the point of view of the rights of the mother country, the colonies are divided into two categories:—(1) Possessions, (2) Protectorates. The latter, though subject to the protectorate of France, maintain their native organisation, either wholly or in part. These are Tunis, Porto Novo (Guinea Coast), Madagascar (except Diego-Suarez and the adjoining islands), the Comoros (except Mayotte), in Africa; Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin, in Asia; and the Wallis and Fotuna islands in Oceania. Side by side with the native authorities are the French Residents who in these colonies represent France, and control the native administration.

The financial system of the colonies starts from the principle that the expenses of sovereignty, of general administration, and of protection are borne by the State, and that all other expenses are borne by the colonies. Hence each colony has two budgets: a *colonial budget*—or, more strictly speaking, its part in the French Colonial Budget—which draws its funds from France; and a *local budget*, which is settled by the Council-General or by the administrative Council. Colonies possessing municipal institutions have, in addition, *communal budgets*.

A *superior Colonial Council*, properly so called, meets under the presidency of the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, or of the Colonial Under Secretary, and is composed—(1) of the senators and deputies of the colonies; (2) of four colonial delegates elected by universal suffrage by the French citizens of the colonies of New Caledonia, Tahiti, St. Pierre et Miquelon, Mayotte, and Nossi Bé; (3) of ten members appointed by decree—high officials and merchants.

The protection of the colonies and of French subjects dwelling in foreign countries over seas is assured (*a*) by the vessels of the fleet which are assigned to local stations, or by those of naval divisions; (*b*) by the troops of the fleet (marines); (*c*) by native troops; and in case of need, till the day comes for the organisation of a colonial army, by (*d*) troops of the French army.

CHAPTER X.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

CONTENTS :—Ancient antagonism between French and English interests.—Hundred Years' War.—Modern period; colonial wars.—War of the Revolution and of the Empire.—Contemporary period; improved relations between France and England.—Regrettable animosity still shown to France.—Tables: trade and navigation between the two powers.

ANCIENT ANTAGONISM BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH INTERESTS.

IT is one of the fatalities of the history of France that each of the great epochs of that history has been marked by struggles, generally most terrible ones, with England. While France was still occupied in establishing her national unity, and in conquering the independence of her territory, it was chiefly with England that she had to fight. Two centuries later, when France was anxious to extend her influence in Europe and to found colonies, it was England who blocked her way, and who, having herself at that time but few colonies, took the French ones. When the Revolution broke out, England was her most implacable enemy. It is only during the course of the present century that peaceful relations (which have as a rule been cordial, but which are still disturbed from time to time by the memory of their old animosities and by the antagonism of their colonial interests) have been established between the two Powers.*

* "For centuries," says Michelet, "the grand political struggle has been between France and England. The war of wars, the battle of battles, is that of England and France; the rest is only episode."

The Norman Conquest of England (1066), though flattering no doubt to the Normans, was disastrous, on the other hand, to France. The new masters of England still kept in their hands the Duchy of Normandy. The marriage of Henry I.'s daughter with Geoffrey Plantagenet afterwards assured to them the possession of Anjou; and when in 1152 their heir, Henry Plantagenet, married an ex-Queen of France, Eleanor of Guyenne, he thereby acquired the whole of the territory from Nantes to the Pyrenees. His possessions on French territory, as a vassal of the King of France, were twice as considerable as those of the King of France himself; all the South and the greater part of the West belonged to him.

Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou were retaken by the kings of France within the first years of the thirteenth century. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Edward III. of England came to the throne, he paid homage to the king of France for the French provinces which he still held. There seemed to be a prospect of a peaceful lull in the relations of the two peoples, when an unlucky question of succession precipitated them into a war which was to last more than a hundred years.

In 1328, the Capet dynasty having come to an end in France, Edward III. of England claimed the crown as son of a sister of the late king. His claim was unjustifiable in French law, which excluded women from the royal succession. Nevertheless the war broke out.

HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

The Hundred Years' War comprises two great periods of struggle, separated by a truce of some duration; the first of these periods corresponds to the reign of Edward III., the second to the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.

At first the French were beaten. The English took Calais (1347), and kept it for two centuries. The Peace of Bretigny (1360) gave them full sovereignty over Aquitaine (from the Loire to the Pyrenees), which they had hitherto only possessed as a fief of the French crown, besides the territory round Calais. In 1369 the war again broke out, and in 1374 all that the English still held was Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. In 1395 a truce, which had practically existed for some years, was formally concluded, and Richard II. of England married a daughter of France.

In 1412 the quarrels between the two great rival houses of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs gave the English the opportunity of regaining their foothold in France. The Burgundians called the English to their assistance, and handed over to them twenty fortified towns in the South. Two years later Henry V. took advantage of this to put forward a fresh claim to the crown of France. The French were beaten, and lost Normandy. The Treaty of Troyes (1420) gave Henry V. the reversion of the crown of France after the death of the king, Charles VI., who was then insane. Henry V. died first (1422), then Charles VI.; and Henry VI. was proclaimed king of France and England. But the son of Charles VI.—the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII.—who had taken refuge at Bourges, sought to regain possession of his kingdom. He was supported by the houses of Anjou and of Lorraine, by Gascony, Dauphiné, and Brittany. Defeated at first, he obtained the unlooked-for aid of a peasant girl, Joan of Arc, who roused the national spirit, delivered Orleans from the English who were besieging it (1429), and got the French king crowned at Reims. She was defeated under the walls of Paris, made prisoner, delivered to the English, and burnt at Rouen as a witch. The impulse, however, had been given. A reconciliation was effected between the Dukes of Burgundy and Charles VII., who step by step regained

possession of his kingdom. In 1449 the English had only Calais left to them; in 1463 a truce was signed, which, after a brief rupture, became a treaty of peace; and thenceforth, of all their continental possessions, the Kings of England retained only the empty title of King of France, which they did not abandon till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

MODERN PERIOD ; COLONIAL WARS.

After the end of the fifteenth century the relations between France and England were much the same as those between all the Powers. Alliances, wars, and treaties followed one another without presenting any strongly-marked features of their own. Each of the two States sought support from the domestic or foreign enemies of the other—England from the House of Austria, from Spain, and from the French Protestants; France, from Scotland and the English Catholics. In the course of this never-ending game of chess, France, which pursued without ceasing its work of territorial unification, retook Calais (1558).

With the seventeenth century the struggle began to assume a new character, which became still more marked in the following century. Under the influence of the religious wars by which she was distracted, England entered upon the path of colonial enterprise. Her enmity (directed at first against her earliest colonial rivals, Spain and Holland) was before long diverted to France, which was already established in Canada (1540), and which was soon to occupy the mouth of the Mississippi, and to found the East India Company (1664). But it was still in Europe that the chief efforts on both sides were made, each of the two Powers being convinced that the way to rid herself of a troublesome rivalry was to strike at her adversary's heart. France alternately supported Cromwell against Charles I.,

Charles II. against Cromwell, and James II. against William of Orange. She refused to recognise the latter till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697; and in the eighteenth century her support was still to be had for Jacobite enterprises. On the other hand, as the unity of France had been by this time accomplished, England found no support in France itself. She allied herself, however, to the foreign enemies of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.—in the first place to prevent the French from extending their frontiers, and afterwards to safeguard Hanover. The English Government took part in the coalition which led to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), and in the alliances which ended in the Peace of Nimeguen (1678) and the Peace of Ryswick (1697). At the beginning of the eighteenth century she took sides with Austria to resist the accession of a grandson of Louis XIV. to the throne of Spain. After ten years' defeats, France obtained the peace of Utrecht (1713), which gave England Acadia and Nova Scotia, but preserved to France the right of fishing off Newfoundland, and of using a portion of the Newfoundland coast, and which left Philip V. on the Spanish throne. Later in the same century England joined Austria in the War of Succession, which lasted from 1741 to 1748. It was during this struggle that Madras came into the hands of its present possessors. The Frenchman Dupleix had taken Madras in 1746, and it was then one of the principal centres of French rule in India. In the Seven Years' War, England sided with Prussia, and the Treaty of Paris (1763) ceded to her almost all the French colonies, by far the most important of which were Canada and India. Dunkirk was dismantled, and had to accept an English commissioner, charged to prevent the rebuilding of its walls. After this disaster France sought her revenge in supporting against England the North American colonies—a platonic revenge, for the Treaty of Versailles (1783), which restored peace between the two

Powers, gave France no direct advantage whatever, save the complete liberation of Dunkirk.

At this moment it seemed possible to hope that the relations between France and England might thenceforth be peaceful. The barriers which the prohibitive system imposed upon their commercial intercourse were for the first time removed by a treaty of commerce concluded in 1786, and it seemed that the period of war had been definitively left behind. But the advent of the Revolution at once unsettled these favourable prospects.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMPIRE.

It is not easy to explain why England was so prompt to join the first coalition which was formed against France (1793). France at that time was not inspired by the extravagant ambitions of Napoleon. Did England dread the contagion of revolutionary ideas? Did she hope to deprive France of the scattered French colonies still left—the Antilles and a few factories in India? Did she think Hanover in danger? Whatever her reasons, the fact remains that from 1793 to 1815, with the exception of a brief period of a year after the peace of Amiens (1802), England was the bitterest enemy of France. Even when the Continental Powers made peace she remained at war, did all she could to set new coalitions going, and subsidised the royalist insurgents in France itself.

No sooner had war been declared than England seized Pondicherry and the French Antilles (1793). Toulon, which had been surrendered to her, was recaptured by Bonaparte. Thenceforward the subsidies paid by England to the Allies, and the assistance given by her to the Vendéans prior to their submission in 1795 and 1796, were the chief signs of her participation in the war. Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition (1798) was chiefly aimed at England,

whose trade with the East was beginning to be considerable ; but Egypt was evacuated by the French army in 1801. After the failure of the second coalition (1799-1801), and a projected invasion of England, the latter resigned herself to the restitution of her colonial conquests by the Peace of Amiens (March 25, 1802).

Napoleon's treatment of Switzerland and Holland supplied England with a pretext for breaking the peace as early as May, 1803. Napoleon again formed the plan of a descent upon the British coast, but a diversion made by Austria prevented it being carried out. Soon after, the French fleet was destroyed at Trafalgar (1805) by Admiral Nelson. England, now absolute mistress of the seas, forbade neutrals to trade with France. Napoleon replied by the "continental blockade," which declared all English ports to be blockaded (the blockade, of course, was imaginary only), and which made all English merchandise, whatever its destination, liable to capture. Forced to evacuate Walcheren (1809), England concentrated all her efforts upon the Iberian peninsula, where one of Napoleon's brothers had been raised to the Spanish throne. The English army, led by Wellington and supported by a general rising of the population, reconquered the peninsula foot by foot from the lieutenants of Napoleon. In 1810 Wellington took refuge behind the lines of Torres Vedras ; in 1813 he conquered at Vittoria. Meanwhile Napoleon, who had broken with Russia in connection with the carrying out of the continental blockade, was engaged (1812-13) in the disastrous Russian campaign. In 1813 the whole of Europe formed a coalition against him. In 1814, while the Continental armies were invading the North of France, Wellington was forcing his way into the South and winning the victory of Toulouse. The peace of Paris (May 30, 1814), which was concluded after the abdication of Napoleon, reduced France to the frontiers which she had had in 1792.

While the diplomatists of Europe were meeting at Vienna to settle all the questions which this long period of war had raised, Napoleon suddenly returned from Elba (March 20, 1815) and resumed his imperial crown. Defeated by Wellington and Blucher at Waterloo (June 18), he abdicated a second time, and was carried off as a prisoner to the island of St. Helena. The second Treaty of Paris reduced France to her frontier as it was in 1790. As to England, the sole immediate and positive advantage which she got from this struggle of twenty-two years was the acquisition of the Île de France (which she re-named Mauritius), and that of Santa Lucia and Tobago in the Antilles.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD ; IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN
FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

From 1815 onwards the relations between France and England assumed a new and hitherto unknown character. To a period of perpetual war succeeded a period of peace varied only by intervals of active alliance between the Powers. From time to time, it is true, clouds arose between the two Powers, but nothing more. As early as the Congress of Vienna Great Britain drew close to the French Government, with the object of checking the ambitions of the other great European powers, and of limiting the sacrifices imposed on France after her defeat. At that time English ideas were in high favour in France, where every effort was being made to acclimatise parliamentary government ; and a union of the Liberal Powers of the West confronted the Holy Alliance formed by the absolute sovereigns of Central Europe. In obedience to common sympathies, France and England joined Russia in 1827 in the cause of Greek liberation, and the two fleets figured side by side at Navarino when the Turkish squadron was destroyed.

Before long, the French Revolution of 1830 somewhat disturbed this understanding. Even before that date

English susceptibilities had been aroused to such an extent by the French capture of Algiers that France was threatened with a new war ; and when Belgium offered the crown to a son of King Louis-Philippe, England believed that a fresh outbreak of French ambition was at hand. But Louis-Philippe refused the crown of Belgium for his son, and did not hesitate to give Great Britain pledges of his pacific intentions. Thus the cordial understanding between the Powers (*entente cordiale*) was re-established for a period of ten years.

During the last years of Louis-Philippe's reign, however, conflicts occurred in which much heat was displayed. After the Greek war England's Eastern policy changed. Dreading the advances of Russia towards Constantinople, she made it her business thenceforth to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and endeavoured to secure a new route to India by way of Egypt. France, on her side, had many sympathies and interests in Egypt, dating from Bonaparte's expedition. When Mehemet Ali, who had conquered Syria in 1833, was attacked by the Sultan in 1839, France pronounced in his favour ; England, on the contrary, in concert with the other great Powers, forced Mehemet Ali to restore Syria to the Sultan ; and there was a moment during which war was on the point of breaking out in the West. Thenceforward the relations between the Cabinets of Paris and St. James's were marked by extreme bitterness. England viewed with great dislike the treaty concluded by France with China in 1844, the object of which was to assure the protection of the Christians, and to obtain for Frenchmen the trading facilities already enjoyed by Englishmen in that country. In the course of the same year the establishment of the French protectorate over Tahiti, and the arrest of the missionary Pritchard, led to a very warm discussion ; while in 1846 the marriage of a Spanish infanta with a son of

Louis Philippe, and disputes relating to the overhauling of vessels suspected of being slavers, definitively put an end to cordial relations, and replaced them by a smothered animosity.

This situation had lasted eight years, when in 1854 Napoleon III., anxious to prove to Europe that, so far from being an enemy to the maintenance of the general balance of power, he was foremost in preserving it, entered into alliance with England with the object of checking the enterprises of Russia against the Ottoman Empire. The allied armies made the Crimean expedition, won the victories of Alma and Inkermann, and took Sebastopol after a protracted siege (1855). The Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856) crowned their efforts. The northern mouth of the Danube was taken from Russia, and the Black Sea was neutralised. The journeys of Napoleon III. to London, and of Queen Victoria to Paris, put the seal on the union of the two countries.

But the war undertaken by Napoleon III. against Austria for the purpose of founding the unity and independence of Italy (1859), and, above all, the annexation to France of Nice and Savoy (1860), once more revived English prepossessions against France. In 1857-60 the two Powers made a joint expedition against China, which opened that country to Europeans. And in 1860 the famous Treaty of Commerce was concluded between France and England, a treaty which, though very ill-received by French protectionists, led to a great and rapid development of trade. But neither the Chinese campaign nor the Commercial Treaty succeeded in removing these prepossessions. On the other hand, the conquest of Lower Cochin-China by France (1862), and the opening of the Suez Canal by a French company (1869), helped to increase them, and the English Government looked on with almost absolute indifference at the disastrous war of France against Germany in 1870-71.

REGRETTABLE ANIMOSITY STILL SHOWN TO FRANCE.

During the years which have elapsed since then, despite the diminution which the power of France suffered by the Treaty of Frankfort, and despite the strictly pacific policy which that peace and the very form of her institutions imposed on France in Europe, it must be said that the Cabinet of Paris has often had to encounter the opposition of England. It is hardly necessary to mention the opposition offered by some of the most distinguished living Englishmen to the plan of piercing a railway tunnel under the Channel. More serious proofs of English animosity may be given. The Treaty of Commerce of 1860, after having been continued for a second term, expired in 1882, and it has been impossible to renew it. All that has been done has been to give England most-favoured-nation treatment by a law voted by the French Parliament, and capable of being rescinded at any time.* The French expeditions to Tunis (1881), Madagascar (1882), and Tonquin and Annam (1883), encountered the opposition of English public opinion, if not in all cases that of the English Government. Old questions, which should have been settled long ago, are the subject of incessant disputes between the two Powers. Such are the question of the Newfoundland fisheries, where the rights of France are secured by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), but where every effort is made to render the usage of those rights impossible by underhand methods and disputes on matters of detail; and the question of the penal colonies of Oceania. In establishing those penal settlements France[†] is only availing herself of an incontestable right of sovereignty, but Australia represents them as a permanent danger to her

* At the end of this chapter will be found a series of tables of Anglo-French trade and shipping.

security and England gives way.* In Egypt, lastly, a grave conflict between the two Governments has arisen.

Ever since the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, Great Britain has made it her constant aim to obtain a preponderating share in the direction of Egyptian affairs. In November, 1875, she bought from the Khedive 176,000 shares, which had been assigned to him at the time when the Suez Company was founded, and thereby assured herself a considerable influence on the management of the company. In 1876 the French and English creditors of the Egyptian Government, fearing that their interests might be compromised by the unsound condition into which the finances of the country had been allowed to sink, arranged with the Khedive that two European Controllers-General should in future take part in the preparation of the Budget and supervise its execution. Even that measure did not suffice to safeguard the interests of the bondholders, and in 1878, after an inquiry at which the other Powers were also represented, the Khedive decided upon admitting into his Cabinet one French and one English Minister. When this combination failed to give more satisfactory results than the first one, the two Governments forced the Khedive Ismail to abdicate in 1879, and his son Tewfik succeeded him. The Law of Liquidation (July 17, 1880), after fixing the administrative requirements of the country, assigned all the surplus of income to the service of the debt, which it placed under the control of four Commissioners. Under this system the finances of Egypt soon showed signs of recovery.

Such was the state of things when the revolt of Arabi Pasha, who claimed that Egypt should be governed by Egyptians, broke out in 1882. France and England at first projected a joint intervention, but afterwards France withdrew and left the field open to England. We all know the rest—the expedition of Lord Wolseley, the suppression

* See Chapter VII., p. 218.

of the Anglo-French Control, the conflict with the Mahdi in the Soudan, and the discussions about the neutralisation of the Suez Canal. In 1885 this last subject brought about the meeting at Paris of a diplomatic Conference, which, however, came to nothing. Ever since she unfurled her flag in Egypt, England has shown that she means to be mistress there, both from the financial and political point of view. France, on her side, defends the positions she still holds in that country, foot by foot. She desires the prompt evacuation of Egypt by the English army—not, it need hardly be said, that she may occupy it herself in her turn, but that she may recover in the direction of the financial affairs of Egypt a place equal to that she formerly possessed, and that she may be quite certain that the Suez Canal, in whose creation she had the greatest share, and which is at present indispensable to her for her communications with her Far-Eastern empire, will not fall, directly or indirectly, into the exclusive possession of another Power. Thence have come about interminable negotiations which do not yet seem near their end, and which cause constant friction between the two States.

This state of things is deeply to be regretted, and it is to be hoped that the misunderstandings subsisting between France and England may disappear, in order to make way for the cordial understanding, in the full sense of the term, that might and should exist between those two powerful countries, which, in virtue of their past, and each in its own way, are the two great apostles of liberal ideas in Europe. The world is large enough, the lands where colonisation is possible still numerous enough, for it, to be possible for French trade and English trade to live side by side as honourable rivals. As to Continental policy, it is most inaccurate and unfair to represent France as a permanent ferment of discord, eager to trouble the general peace on the first possible opportunity, and consequently hostile to the

conservative and moderating policy which, for the last century, England has advocated, and which more and more reduces itself to a purely negative and critical attitude on her part. On every occasion when France has been called upon to exercise an influence on general politics in these latter years, she has exercised it in the interest of peace. This was notably the case at the Congress of Berlin in 1878; and quite recently, when she was exposed to direct, unjust, and personal provocations, she disarmed her adversaries by the calmness and moderation of her attitude, and conquered the esteem even of the press, which was as a rule least favourable to her.

Do not let us deceive ourselves. France may keep a bleeding wound at heart; she may cherish certain hopes, which no man has the right to forbid her, and which she must keep, under pain of falling from the rank of nation; but France is no longer, and will never again become, the people whose excessive military ambitions England once sought to curb. To-day France is sovereign mistress of her destinies; her army and her fleet are national. In politics, in religion, and in industry she is seeking for new roads; all is new with her, or tends to become so; and every day sees the shattering of a piece of the ancient organism under the constant effort of a democratic society, which is still sometimes unconscious of itself and of its final goal, but which is at least resolved to labour at the work of organising itself in peace. Old France does not supply the criterion by which New France can be judged; and, starting from the France of to-day, the most that is possible is an effort to divine the France of to-morrow, for no man can really know what will be the result of the immense effort of reconstitution to which France has consecrated herself during the last fifteen years.

NAVIGATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND OR ENGLISH COLONIES IN 1884.

Country from which.		Ships in Cargo.							
		French.		English.		Foreign.		Totals entered France.	
		Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
England	.. .. .	3,129	895,917	11,372	3,242,251	143	53,752	14,644	4,191,900
English Possessions—									
In the Mediterranean ..	.. .. .	10	9,002	1	349	2	901	13	11,152
In Western Africa ..	.. .. .	16	12,203	10	5,526	24	8,061	50	26,780
In Eastern Africa ..	.. .. .	3	5,039	1	620	—	—	4	5,668
India ..	.. .. .	27	64,879	239	351,183	37	50,466	303	466,588
Australia ..	.. .. .	1	571	37	49,821	42	36,765	80	86,557
North America ..	.. .. .	10	4,201	7	3,801	52	27,740	69	35,742
Miscellaneous ..	.. .. .	1	268	1	647	5	2,526	7	3,441
Total..	.. .. .	3,197	993,070	11,668	3,653,607	305	181,111	15,170	4,827,788
Country to which.		Totals cleared from France.							
England	.. .. .	2,629	584,539	8,632	2,170,686	276	114,138	11,539	2,869,353
English Possessions—									
In the Mediterranean ..	.. .. .	49	35,887	9	5,530	9	1,599	67	42,716
In Western Africa ..	.. .. .	11	10,839	1	532	9	2,063	21	15,034
In Eastern Africa ..	.. .. .	15	18,534	—	—	2	874	17	19,408
India ..	.. .. .	16	42,891	10	14,983	2	5,626	28	63,500
Australia ..	.. .. .	4	5,017	1	768	—	—	5	5,785
North America ..	.. .. .	—	—	3	2,640	3	1,457	6	4,097
Miscellaneous ..	.. .. .	5	1,585	—	—	9	2,732	14	4,317
Total..	.. .. .	2,729	698,982	8,656	2,195,139	312	130,089	11,697	3,024,210
General Totals	.. .. .	5,926	1,692,052	20,324	5,848,746	617	311,200	26,867	7,851,998

NAVIGATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND OR ENGLISH COLONIES IN 1884 (*continued*).

Country from which.	Ships in Ballast.					
	French.		English.		Foreign.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
England	390	26,118	1,300	220,595	35	19,870
English Possessions—						
In the Mediterranean	—	—	1	646	—	—
In Western Africa	1	123	—	—	—	—
In Eastern Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—
India	—	—	—	—	—	—
Australia	—	—	—	—	—	—
North America	1	882	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	—	—	—	—	1	882
Total	392	27,123	1,301	221,241	35	19,870
Countries to which.						
England	1,498	364,151	4,622	2,081,894	876	423,493
English Possessions—						
In the Mediterranean	—	—	1	29	7	7,074
In Western Africa	2	2,138	—	—	1	430
In Eastern Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—
India	—	—	—	—	—	—
Australia	—	—	1	649	2	1,014
North America	—	—	18	15,496	64	34,237
Miscellaneous	2	373	—	—	6	3,164
Total	1,502	366,662	4,642	2,098,068	956	460,412
General Totals	1,894	393,785	5,943	2,319,399	991	489,282
					Totals cleared from France.	
					6,996	2,869,538
					8	7,103
					3	2,568
					—	—
					3	1,663
					84	50,106
					6	3,164
					7,100	2,934,142
					8,828	3,004,376

NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE THIRTEEN CHIEF PORTS OF FRANCE
AND ENGLAND IN 1886.

French Ports.	Ships in Cargo Entered.					
	French.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
Dunkirk ...	6	546	635	158,568	641	159,114
Calais ...	538	185,209	1,277	290,480	1,815	475,689
Boulogne ...	5	352	1,168	352,504	1,173	352,856
Dieppe ...	119	39,125	1,102	336,846	1,221	375,971
Havre ...	90	86,068	790	429,039	880	515,107
Rouen ...	58	18,308	605	204,292	663	222,600
Nantes ...	78	8,211	34	6,962	112	15,173
St. Nazaire ...	196	127,301	380	225,890	576	353,191
Bordeaux ...	75	26,916	489	287,966	564	314,882
Bayonne ..	53	34,276	73	31,464	126	65,740
Cette ...	13	3,459	53	30,982	66	34,441
Marseilles ...	31	17,358	217	208,253	248	225,611
Nice... ..	6	1,690	15	11,924	21	13,614
Total ...	1,267	548,819	6,838	2,575,168	8,105	3,123,987

French Ports.	Ships in Cargo Cleared.					
	French.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
Dunkirk ...	—	—	560	185,977	560	185,977
Calais ...	514	180,883	1,162	153,401	1,676	334,284
Boulogne ...	5	539	1,068	312,620	1,073	313,159
Dieppe ...	105	38,221	830	201,317	935	239,538
Havre ...	55	57,565	392	182,807	447	240,372
Rouen ...	54	15,399	590	200,656	644	216,055
Nantes ...	27	5,391	49	11,511	76	16,902
St. Nazaire ...	90	33,118	78	24,923	168	58,041
Bordeaux ...	138	29,655	504	263,427	642	292,982
Bayonne ...	132	38,072	17	5,589	149	43,661
Cette ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marseilles ...	42	62,960	104	154,866	146	217,826
Nice... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total ...	1,162	461,803	5,354	1,696,994	6,516	2,158,797

NAVIGATION EFFECTED BY ENGLISH SHIPS BETWEEN FRANCE AND
FOREIGN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN ENGLAND, OR FRENCH
COLONIES, IN 1884.

Ships in Cargo.

Country.	Entered France.		Cleared from France.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
Russia (Baltic)	121	76,691	4	1,879
„ (Black Sea)	139	99,651	3	3,016
Sweden	137	87,170	—	—
Norway	15	8,381	1	428
Denmark	3	919	1	129
Germany... ..	90	21,171	40	32,707
Holland	7	766	67	27,956
Belgium	23	14,865	34	17,622
Portugal	41	9,726	24	4,088
Spain	169	86,680	131	77,521
Austria	56	48,083	3	4,005
Italy	95	77,542	40	34,011
Greece	17	9,545	—	—
Roumania	27	22,559	1	866
Turkey	45	30,860	25	20,276
Egypt	26	29,884	9	9,544
Tunis	—	—	1	97
Morocco	2	1,464	—	—
Africa, Western	39	24,762	—	—
„ Other parts of	7	2,433	—	—
Dutch Indies	9	12,396	1	1,405
Philippines	—	—	1	1,323
Japan	7	8,848	—	—
China	14	27,429	4	5,870
United States (Atlantic Coast)	239	263,625	35	45,733
„ (Pacific Coast)..	13	18,911	—	—
Mexico	2	653	—	—
Guatemala	5	4,064	—	—
New Grenada... ..	11	14,089	—	881
Venezuela	1	173	—	—
Brazil	29	26,090	31	26,704
Uruguay	8	12,413	9	14,895
Argentine Republic	49	67,173	19	24,164
Peru	79	61,184	—	—

NAVIGATION EFFECTED BY ENGLISH SHIPS BETWEEN FRANCE AND
FOREIGN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN ENGLAND, OR FRENCH
COLONIES, IN 1884 (*continued*).

Ships in Cargo.

Country.	Entered France.		Cleared from France.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
Bolivia		2,909		
Chili		64,585	28	59,330
Haiti & Republic of Domingo|		5,017		
Spanish Antilles	9	3,043		
St. Thomas	18	38,239		
Algeria	49	27,119		4,003
Réunion	—	—		1,381
Martinique	10	2,667		201
Guadeloupe	2	508		—
Senegal	5	2,819		1,087
French Indies	8	9,444		—
Cochin-China and Tonquin...	1	954		4,550
New Caledonia				498
Total	1,671	1,327,496	532	406,170*

* In 1885 the English flag had, as third flag (*i.e.*, on vessels trading between two foreign countries), a total of 1,896,446 tons, entrances and clearances together. In 1884 the total navigation under third flag occupied 7,276 vessels in cargo, with a tonnage of 4,187,937, entrances and clearances together—that is, the share of England alone was nearly a third of the total number of vessels, and nearly half the tonnage.

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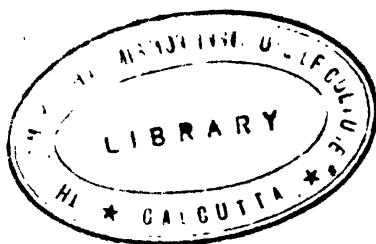
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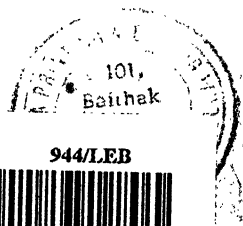
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